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ROMAN LIFE AND MANNERS UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

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By

LUDWIG FRIEDLÄNDER

Authorized Translation of the Seventh Enlarged and Revised Edition of the *Sittengeschichte Roms*

by

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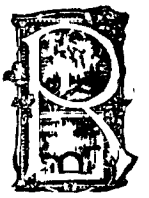

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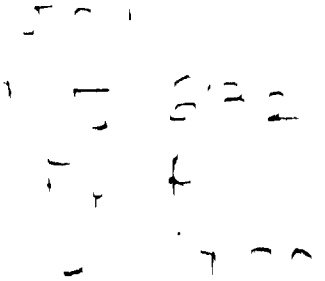

The Author's Excursuses and Notes will be published in a fourth volume

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CHAPTER I

THE SPECTACLES

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

EVERY attempted delineation of the manners and customs of Imperial Rome must necessarily include a survey, as exhaustive as may be, of the spectacles, as the best measure of her grandeur, and as indicative in many ways of her moral and intellectual condition.

Originally, for the most part, religious celebrations, they became, even in the later Republic, the best means of purchasing popular favour, and, under the Empire, of keeping the populace contented. Augustus, the tale runs, once reproached Pylades the Pantomime for his jealousy of a rival, and Pylades replied: 'It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people concerns itself about us'. But these spectacles effected more even than the diversion of popular interest; their magnificence was a gauge of the popularity of the sovereign. The emperors, like Louis XIV, knew how admiration aids absolute autocracy; like Napoleon, that the imagination of the people must be excited: splendid festivals were one of their most indispensable and most constant devices. Even Caligula, according to Josephus, was honoured and beloved by the folly of the populace; the women and the youth did not desire his death; distributions of meat, the games and the gladiatorial combats had won their hearts, for such were the delights of the mob: the lavishing of these gifts was nominally due to consideration for the populace, though the gladiatorial combats were only intended to sate the monarch's lust of blood. The memory of Nero survived him: the people did not believe in his death, hoped and wished for his return for thirty years, and thus caused several pseudo Neros to appear; Dio of Prusa explains this by Nero's

extravagant generosity, most manifested in his spectacles. After his murder, Tacitus describes the populace of Rome, accustomed to the theatre and the circus, as depressed and greedy for rumours. Otho, at the games, was greeted as Nero, and did not decline the title, as it ensured popularity.

But soon the omnipotent ruler could no longer give spectacles at his pleasure; they had become an unavoidable necessity. Into the capital there poured a proletariat, more corrupt and wilder and rougher than in modern capitals, composed of the dregs of every nation; its predominance was absolute, and the more dangerous as the mob consisted mostly of idlers. The Government provided for their maintenance by the great distributions of corn; and having fed them, had to supply the needs of their leisure. In a school essay, written about A.D. 100, and purporting to be a letter from Sallust to Caesar on the reorganization of the State, the ruler is advised to keep the mob occupied, after bribing them with gifts and corn, and thus to prevent them injuring the common weal. This occupation was provided by the games. The well-known words of Juvenal, *panem et circenses*, in which he sums up the desires of the people, formerly the bestower of sovereignty, the *fasces*, the legions and everything, are simply borrowed from an older and equally expressive phrase. Pressure had been first applied at Alexandria; where if the population had plenty of bread and races nobody would trouble about anything else. Bread and races in Rome were soon regarded as no mere imperial indulgence, but as an absolute right; a *damnosa hereditas*, which had to be accepted by every new government; the best and the worst emperors alike had to vie in the splendour and magnificence of the festivals.

Augustus 'outdid every one in the frequency, variety and splendour of his spectacles': the importance which the founder of the Empire ascribed to the games is evidenced by the detailed account of them in his record of his life, and in the circumstantial directions with regard to them. The economical Vespasian built the largest amphitheatre in the world: and in 1756 the value of the travertine still left in the Colosseum was estimated by experts, according to the prices then obtaining, at 2,218,065 *scudi*, or 16,894,851 francs, the cost of the walls being put by an Italian architect at five million scudi.

Certainly, the material for the most part may have been provided by the demolition of the Golden House. Yet Vespasian expended hugely on spectacles, and Titus probably outbid him. Trajan was perhaps the most zealous in this respect. 'It is a sign of great statesmanship', says a later writer, 'that Trajan provided for dancers and other artists of the stage, the circus and the arena, for he knew that the Roman people loved most of all two things, bread and games: that the goodness of government is shown both in its earnest aspects and its amusements: and that whilst neglect of serious business was harmful, neglect of amusements caused discontent; even distributions of money were less desired than games; further, largesses of corn and money pacified only a few or even individuals only, but games the whole people'. Even the Stoic Marcus Aurelius prevailed on himself to give splendid spectacles, and decreed that the richest senators should provide them in his stead during his absence. Severus even, next to Hadrian the most avaricious of the Emperors, yet thought fit to devote enormous sums to the games. Tiberius is the only exception; he showed his profound contempt for the mob by giving no spectacles. Others were satisfied with lowering the actors' fees, fixing a maximum number of duellists in the gladiatorial combats, and thus cutting down expenses; such Emperors were Tiberius, and Augustus. Nerva also abolished several spectacles in the circus; Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius limited the gladiatorial games and the gifts to the actors. The repetition of these ordinances proves their futility.

A further importance attached to the games under the Empire; the people were there enabled to assemble in mass, and, in the Emperor's presence, to make known their attitude, inclinations, wishes and complaints; these manifestations were tolerated to a degree found nowhere else. According to Tacitus, in the circus and the theatre the people showed the least restraint; in the utter lack of other occasions for public meetings and proclamations, the games gained additional significance.

No less important was the reception given to the Emperor and the other persons highly placed. In Republican times, statesmen valued the enthusiasm of the theatre; Cicero was rejoiced to receive 'wonderful cheers without any hostile

cat-calls' at the games. Exceptionally, poets were thus honoured: Virgil was greeted with the same respect as Augustus, on one occasion when verses of his were recited in the theatre. Under the emperors, such greetings were, as a rule, reserved for the Imperial family, the great officers of State and the provider of the entertainment. The assembled people, as these dignitaries entered, rose from their seats and applauded: Augustus even had to express disapproval of his grandchildren being thus honoured, whilst mere boys: handkerchiefs were waved (Aurelian distributed them for the purpose); titles and congratulations were shouted out, partly stereotyped and often repeated, and even set to music and song.

The games afforded the emperors an opportunity of coming into personal contact and ingratiating themselves with the assembled people. The more they aimed at popularity, the more frequently they attended their own and others' spectacles. Tiberius even, who disliked these diversions, was often present at the games at the beginning of his reign, partly, as Dio says, to do the entertainers honour, partly to keep the populace in order and to show his sympathy with their pleasure. Augustus taught the people to regard this as a right. Suetonius says that on all such occasions he sedulously avoided giving offence by following Caesar's example of reading and answering despatches and petitions, and partly perhaps out of his own interest in spectacles (which he acknowledged), devoted his whole attention to them. Marcus Aurelius, like Caesar, used to read and give audience and sign documents in the circus, and was scoffed at for it by the people. Nero at first used to watch the games lying down, from the window of a closed box, but later from the public podium, when his short sight forced him to use a cut emerald. Domitian seems afterwards to have had the imperial box rebuilt; for Pliny praises Trajan for discarding it in his rebuilding of his great circus: 'Your citizens can see you, as you can see them; see you sitting publicly amongst them, not merely the imperial box'.

Historians and biographers generally mention the graciousness and condescension of the emperors to the people at the games, and their anticipation of the public desires; very seldom the contrary. Claudius' brutish delight in the slaughter of the arena offended even Rome; but his affability

in the Circus, and his habit of writing his answers down and sending them by hand when possible, instead of employing heralds, made him popular. When Androclus, a runaway slave, condemned to be torn to pieces by wild beasts, was recognized by a lion, from whose foot he had drawn a thorn in Africa, and spared, the event, on the personal testimony of Apio of Alexandria, was at once recorded on a tablet, which was handed all round the circus. Claudius, too, used to count the gold pieces won by the victors on his fingers, as did the spectators, used to call the people 'my lords', and exchanged vulgar jokes with them. Titus, too, used to satisfy every popular wish, take sides in the gladiatorial contests, and, like one of the people, jeer at his opponents; neither his majesty suffered, nor the impartiality of the contest. Domitian, on the other hand, was truculent; no one dared embrace the side opposed to his favourites. Trajan restored the former freedom, and was generally affable. Hadrian was stricter, and, like Domitian, ordered silence by a herald, not deigning any reply to a turbulent request. Gallienus had a wreath given to a bull-fighter, who had missed his bull ten times; the people murmured; the herald announced that to miss a bull ten times was no easy matter.

The popular requests granted by the emperors generally referred to the games. The spectators demanded a certain sort of combat, the appearance of famous gladiators, the discharge of a brave fighter, the manumission of an actor or charioteer (who were mostly slaves), the amnesty of a criminal condemned to the wild beasts. Androclus was freed at such a demand, and led his lion about with a thin cord from tavern to tavern; money was everywhere given him, and wreaths of flowers to the lion. Criminals who bravely killed their animals were sometimes pardoned and given largess at the popular request. Marcus Aurelius declared manumissions enforced on the owner by turbulence, invalid. Tiberius once granted the manumission of a slave not his own, only with his master's consent, while Hadrian refused to free a charioteer belonging to another, and circulated his refusal on a tablet. Tiberius, after being obliged to free Actius the comedian, avoided the games and their importunities.

Other petitions of the most diverse kinds were made to the emperors, and seldom rejected. Josephus regards the

certainty of such petitions being granted as one of the chief reasons why the Romans so valued the circus. But, in the Triumphal Games of A.D. 9, the knights in vain besought the repeal of the stringent marriage-law just enacted. At a great dearth in 32 for several days demands were made in the theatre, with unusual violence towards the emperor. Tiberius once set up in his palace the statue by Lysippus of the athlete with the scraper, which had been erected by Agrippa in front of his *thermae*, and, at the request of the people in the theatre, had reluctantly to restore it. Shortly before his murder, Caligula was asked in the Circus to reduce the taxes; he was enraged, and had the loudest claimants arrested and executed. Palfurius Sura had been expelled from the Senate by Domitian; he gained the oratorical prize in the Capitoline *Agon*; the assembly unanimously called for his restitution, but in vain. These calls of the people assembled at the games were the recognized expression of the popular wishes; Titus, as military praefect, to justify the execution of men he suspected, distributed men in the theatre to demand it. Under Galba the people in the Circus and the Theatre incessantly demanded the execution of Tigellinus, until the emperor settled the matter by an edict. As is well known, the anti-Christian outbreaks in the following centuries had their origin in the Circus and the amphitheatre.

But in the great spectacles not only could the popular grievances be aired, but gibes could be freely directed at private individuals or even the emperors, imprecations against the autocrats of the world. Tertullian frequently mentions such outbreaks, and asks if there be anything harsher than the Circus that spares neither citizen nor monarch. Individual complainants were hard to detect, while the multitude were emboldened by the security of numbers. Macrinus was loathed for his cruelty; like the ancient Etruscan Mezentius, he tied condemned criminals to corpses and left them thus to perish. One day his son Diadumenos, a boy beloved for his beauty, was loudly applauded in the Circus, but voices were raised, quoting Virgil: Egregius forma juvenis . . . dignus patriis qui laetior esset imperiis, et cui pater haud Mezentius esset. Diocletian celebrated the twentieth year of his reign in Rome on November 20, 303, but left Rome in December, because, according to a Christian writer, he could not endure the outspokenness of the Romans (no doubt in the Circus).

But Constantius II, on his visit to Rome in 357, was delighted at the popular wit in the games he gave, and found it 'neither insolent nor unfree, but strictly moderate'. In 509 Cassiodorus writes: 'The language of the merry people in the Circus is not offensive. The place excuses the transgression. Ready tolerance of their loquacity makes the emperors popular'. Popular jeers were also aimed at private persons, especially if well known and well hated, though insults of such persons, if present, were severely punished. When Sarmentus, a slave raised to knighthood, took his place on the equestrian benches, he was met with a derisory song (still extant). Claudius issued severe edicts in 47, after the insults offered in the theatre to Publius Pomponius the consular and certain noble ladies.

The Circus also served for political demonstrations. In 59 B.C. the opponents of Caesar were greeted with tremendous cheers in the Theatre and Circus, and Caesar and his party with hisses or silence; whilst Diphilus the actor was called back again and again to repeat verses reflecting adversely on Pompey. In the course of the Civil War, Laberius' line, 'Whom many fear, must fear the many', became a popular catchword in the theatre. In 45 B.C. Cicero was pleased at the good behaviour of the people in the games: the image of Caesar had been carried about in procession with the images of the gods; and her evil neighbour had prevented the goddess of victory being applauded. In 40 B.C. men were longing for the conclusion of the war against Sextus Pompeius, and a statue of his patron god Neptune was warmly greeted: there was a riot the third day, when it was not brought out. The downfall of Commodus' mighty chamberlain Cleander was prefaced by an organized demonstration in the Circus. A company of boys, led by a tall, hideously ugly woman burst into the arena during a pause and imprecated Cleander the people joined in, and rushed excitedly to the imperial villa, where they enforced the surrender of the hated favourite. Under Commodus, too, Pertinax, the future emperor, rose to prominence, and, when a horse of the name belonging to Commodus' green faction won, the Greens cried out: 'It is Pertinax'; and the Blues answered: 'If it only were!' Such popular outbreaks occurred, sometimes undesigned, sometimes in consequence of the strange forces that provoke great masses of men to speak or act unanimously. Cassius

Dio says he himself heard, in 196, during the civil war between the pretender Albinus and Severus, a countless multitude in the Circus with wonderful unanimity utter complaints at the continuance of the war and their desire of peace; he regarded it as 'a divine inspiration: how otherwise could so many myriads have begun at the same moment, calling out for the same thing, like a well-trained chorus, and without any hitch, as at rehearsals?' Plautianus, the powerful favourite of Severus, was greeted in the Circus, shortly before his downfall in 205, with the jeer that he was wealthier than the three others' (Severus and his two sons). Caracalla drained the Empire's life blood, and was told, 'We will kill the living, to bury the dead'. The number of such incidents that Dio records proves their frequency. The topical references in the theatrical performances will be dealt with later.

The presence of the emperors and other great personages obliged spectators to take many irksome precautions. Augustus saw one knight drinking and had him informed that he breakfasted at home. The knight rejoined: 'Yes, you have your seat reserved'. The early monarchy issued express ordinances on the dress of the spectators, varied under various rulers. Roman citizens had to wear the *toga*, a heavy costume, in the hot summer, which spoiled the pleasure of the entertainment. 'Whilst Rome is at the Circus', Juvenal writes in his sixtieth year, 'my shrunken skin can absorb the rays of the April sun, and be spared the *toga*'. Augustus, ever anxious to restore ancient custom, ordered the aediles to refuse admission except to those wearing the *toga*. Knights and senators had to don their robes, and officiate in their official garb, which was only discarded at the public mourning for a deceased emperor. Commodus at a gladiatorial show given shortly before his death required spectators to wear the dark close-buttoned rain-cloak, (which was also worn by mourners,) and this was taken as a premonition of his death. In the summer Augustus gave, and Tiberius repealed, leave to come to the Circus barefoot: Caligula reintroduced the custom, and in 37 for the first time allowed the senators to use the Thessalian parasol hats: until then they had had to remain bareheaded. At one spectacle of Domitian, a rain-storm came on, and no one was allowed to go or change, whilst the emperor put on cloak after cloak: many fell ill and died. Domitian

strictly insisted on these regulations and revived others that had fallen into disuse. The indulgence of coloured dress was revoked by him, except for white, scarlet and purple. Besides parasol hats, sunshades were allowed. The enforcement of law and order at the spectacles was in the province of the City Praefect, who could have the assistance of the military, and could forbid entrance to offenders and seditious folk. Even in the early Republic we should consider the sums expended on popular pleasures large. After 364 B.C. the Roman Games were held for four days in September and theatrical pieces were performed; 200,000 *asses* (£2,145) were allowed on their account, and this sum was not increased until the second Punic War. The other State Games were also paid out of the *aerarium*. But with the increased demands, the state-grant became insufficient, and the givers of the spectacles, the aediles, had to contribute from their own pockets, borrow from their friends, or extort the money from the *socii* or the provincials; often the effort rendered them insolvent. About 150 B.C. great gladiatorial games cost over 30 talents (£7,050). Yet even this was little in comparison with the gigantic squanderings on games in the later Republic; some, such as the games of Scaurus (58), Pompey (55), Caesar, can only have been exceeded by the emperors; Milo in 53 spent, on his candidature for the consulate, 'three inheritances, to stop the mouth of the populace'. Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, calls these games the most extravagant ever given; Milo, he says, must be mad. Yet, later, these spectacles are not specially distinguished. Under the Empire larger sums were allowed for the State Games (which were lengthened). According to a document of 51 A.D., 760,000 sesterces (£8,250) were spent on the Roman Games, 600,000 (£6,025) on the Plebeian, 380,000 (£4,125) on the Apollinarian, and 10,000 (£108 3*s*.) on the newly-instituted Augustal games. These sums do not include the contributions of officials, or the enormous sums spent by private individuals, as to which our information is only fragmentary. When Herod of Judaea instituted quadrennial games in honour of Augustus, Augustus and Livia gave him all the essential properties: this was reckoned at 500 talents (£117,900). In the early empire a good three days' exhibition of gladiators in a city of Campania cost 400,000 sesterces (£4,350). Generally, however, expenses in the *municipia* would be less.

The city of Pisaurum (Pesaro) received a legacy of 600,000 sesterces to provide for a quinquennial gladiatorial exhibition. The *senatus consultum* of 27 A.D., forbidding any one with less than 400,000 sesterces from giving gladiatorial shows, must clearly have been directed against penniless speculators; for even in the *municipia* a larger expenditure would be requisite. At the Feast of the Great Mother (April 4–10) the praetor, under Domitian, had to contribute 100,000 out of his own monies (£1,087 10*s*.), and, even then, underpaid the performers, the charioteers especially. Generally the praetor could not meet the expense, the chariot races alone costing 400,000 sesterces. Hadrian received 2,000,000 (£21,771) from Trajan for the games during his praetorship in 107. The seven days' games given by Symmachus on his son's praetorship cost 2,000 pounds of gold (about £91,350), and he was by no means the richest of the senators; another senator of that time, Maximus, spent double as much. The expenses of the consulate in games used then to cost over 2,000 pounds of gold; the emperor had to give the lion's share. Justinian became Consul in 521 and outbid the record of eastern magnificence in largess and spectacles, spending 288,000 *solidi* (about £181,500). In Marcus Aurelius' time, the total expenses on gladiators in the Empire, excluding Rome, were estimated at over £500,000 a year. A speech before the senate at about this epoch states that the decrees limiting this extravagance did save the *municipia* from insolvency, as well as the prominent men who gave the games; they were the priests belonging to the provincial aristocracy and the city officials; the law obliged the priests to provide the games, custom and their fellow citizens' expectations the others.

In Rome this oppressive obligation fell almost entirely on the senators, who were only partially relieved from the fisc. For centuries the Roman aristocracy was thus taxed almost to the point of exhaustion in favour of the proletariat. The order purchased rank, titles and tinsel dignities at the expense of outlay that ruined many old families, or necessitated the support of their colleagues and the emperor. In the first centuries the brilliancy of the senatorial offices compensated the onerous charges, and comparatively few evaded the burden. But, as time went on, and senators came to mean

only providers of public festivals, losing all power whatsoever, more and more abstained: at last competitors for curule honours began to fall short. Constantine had to coerce candidates, who sought to avoid the praetorship by flight; he may not have been the first emperor obliged to take such measures. A series of edicts in the fourth century regulated the elections to the praetorship and quaestorship in Rome and Constantinople for periods of ten years, out of all the senators who had attained their twenty-ninth year; and specified valid exemptions. Sums were fixed as *minima* for the games for the various praetorships. Any who evaded the obligation on insufficient grounds had to bear the whole expense of the games, which the fisc gave in their names, and had, further, as a fine, to provide a considerable amount of corn to the granaries of the capital. The obligation was made a charge on the heirs of praetors elect, who had died before taking office.

The number of festival days in the year devoted to the Games cannot be ascertained for any epoch, as the regular spectacles were constantly shifted, and the extraordinary ones incalculable. The calendars of the Empire only give an approximate picture of the annual games. During the Republic there were seven, which under Augustus lasted sixty-six days: the Roman Games taking up fifteen, after Caesar's death sixteen (September 4–19), the Plebeian fourteen (November 4–17), those of Ceres eight (April 12–19), those of Apollo eight (July 6–13), those of the Great Mother eight (April 3–10) and of Flora six (April 28–May 3), and the Sullan Commemoration seven (October 26—November 1). Out of these sixty-six days, fourteen were given up to races, two to trials of racing horses, two to sacrifices, and forty-eight to theatricals; gladiators did not usually appear in public games during the Republic. All these festivals, excepting the last, subsisted in some measure down to the fourth century.

After the fall of the Republic few games were added. Up to 4 B.C. the only addition was the eleven day games of Venus Genetrix (July 20–30, with four *circenses dies*), and the *ludus circensis Martis* on May 12; Augustus added a second *ludus circensis Martis* on August 1, and Tiberius the eight day festival in honour of Augustus, afterwards prolonged to ten days (October 3–12). Later on, the number of festival days with games, under Tiberius 87 in number, was very variously

increased by triumphs, dedications, imperial birthdays and so on; and the reductions effected by Nerva, Severus and Macrinus, scarcely affected the constant growth. Marcus Aurelius increased the judicial days to 230; then 135 at most must have been given to exhibitions. In the middle of the fourth century there were 175 holidays, ten with gladiatorial exhibitions, 64 in the circus and 101 in the theatre. The gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts do not appear in the early calendars, and are limited to ten days in December in the fourth century; they must, however, have been very frequent, to judge from the evidence of literature and inscriptions. Alexander Severus designed distributing the gladiatorial combats over the whole year, giving one a month, but, for some reason, did not carry his intention out. Extraordinary spectacles were also tolerably numerous, and sometimes lasted for weeks or months. At the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre in 80 Titus gave a 100 day festival, and, on his second Dacian triumph in 106, Trajan gave a 123 day festival. All the greater spectacles began at sunrise (the seats were filled before dawn) and lasted until sundown. Celsus (under Tiberius) speaks of attending the spectacles all day long. St. Augustine says that theatricals and circus games were sometimes given on the same day.

Originally the games in the Circus were the most important, and concluded the festivals. In the later Republic the gorgeous and extravagant combats of gladiators were the popular favourites. In three places, says Cicero in 56 B.C., is the voice of the Roman people most certainly heard: in city assemblies, the *comitia*, and at the games and combats; at the last people of all classes gathered in the greatest numbers for its principal pleasure. But, when in the early Empire the Circus parties were organized, betting interests set all others in the background. Theatricals, though still popular, took only the third place. Like the people, the emperors laid most weight on the two first kinds of entertainment, and spent enormous sums on them. Coins (in the lack of other documents) evidence the imperial generosity in this direction, having on the obverse buildings and games in the amphitheatre and circus, and scarcely ever theatres and dramas. At the Secular Games, for three days and nights scenic representations were given in the Campus Martius; but no indication

is given of them at the millenary celebration under Emperor Philip on the coins, on which lions, hippopotami, and wild animals recall the animal baitings.

Besides these three main varieties, even under the Republic Rome borrowed from Greece athletic combats and musical performances, partly for certain periodic festivals, to be mentioned afterwards, and partly as incidental. At the greater festivals relief was afforded by having fireworks, rope dancers, jugglers, acrobats. Varro in his book on the theatre already mentions boys turning somersaults. Pliny saw a strong man called Athanatos walk across the stage with armour and shoes weighing altogether 1,000 Roman pounds. Carinus and Numerianus gave an unprecedented exhibition. The reproduction of the features of it in the colonnade of a stable in the Palatium is an illustration of the variety of these side-shows. A rope dancer is seen dancing with buskins on thin, almost invisible ropes : a wall-climber clambering up a wall to escape a bear he had teased : bears acting a piece, and a hundred trumpeters in chorus, and a hundred players of flutes and wind instruments, and a thousand athletes and pantomimes. The stage was provided with transformation scenery and fireworks ; and these are only samples. Claudian the poet celebrated an exhibition given by the consul Flavius Mallius Theodorus, in which there were chariot races, athletic contests, animal baitings, theatricals, and music, besides several kinds of jugglers who flew like birds, formed pyramids, with a boy on the top, not to speak of transformation scenes, pyrotechnics with harmless flames, and boat-races. Manilius' frequent mentions of acrobats are reminiscences of spectacles. He specifies rope dancers and jugglers one of whom hovered in mid-air whilst the other jumped to the ground from a scaffolding, leaping through fire, soaring like dolphins in space, unfeathered birds.

Splendid illumination was an important part of the spectacles, as usually in ancient celebrations, religious or festive. In ancient days the *forum* and *comitium* were decked at night with lamps at the games. The continuance of the festivals by artificial light was a late innovation, beginning, possibly, in the Feast of Flora, the rites of which were best suited to night-time. In 32 A.D. Lucius Sejanus, as praetor, had the spectators of the *Floralia* conducted home by 5,000 slave

torch-bearers. The Secular Games of Augustus of 17 B.C. also lasted all night according to ancient custom, and young men and women were forbidden to attend them, unless in the company of their elders. At the millenary celebrations of 248 A.D., according to the chroniclers, the people did not go to bed for three nights. Thus illuminations at the Saturnalia were usual: it was the festival of the turn of the year, held about the time of the shortest day, like Christmas. At the festival on December 1, 88, given by Domitian as a preliminary to the Saturnalia, a circle of lights was lowered down into the amphitheatre at dusk, turning night into day. Nero's quinquennial feast (instituted in 60) seems to have lasted the night through: objections on the score of possible immorality were met with the reply that the light would be too bright. In Imperial Rome night celebrations must have been common, as 'spectacles and illuminations' are associated in many Italian city records; in a legacy found on the island of Ebusus (Iviça) directions are given for the holding of spectacles with pitch-lights on a certain day. Caligula once gave theatrical performances at night; the whole city was lit up as well. The chariot-race in Nero's gardens with Christians in pitch as torches, was also a night spectacle. Domitian held gladiatorial games and wild beast shows by artificial light, and Martial's reference to the night wave from which Leander escaped, indicates a performance of Hero and Leander at night.

During the Republic, even as under the Empire, the spectators received hospitality and largess at the spectacles. The games lasted all day: about midday there was a pause and the onlookers scattered for lunch, or had it supplied in the theatre or circus by slaves staggering under huge baskets of food and wine; permits for food and drink were also handed round, and complaints would be raised of gluttony or cheating. At the greater games, which lasted several days, whole days would be reserved for general feasts. The distributions taking place at the Games of the two City Praefects were abolished in 217 A.D., excepting those at the Floralia. At the Floralia a generous allowance of a mash of peas and beans pacified the people; at imperial games their taste was more delicate. At the December 1 festival in 88, according to Statius, the young and beautiful imperial servants, in rich costume,

waiting everywhere on the audience, fully equalled the spectators in number. Some brought costly dishes in baskets, and white napkins, and others, old wine. Children, women, plebs, knights and senate and the emperor himself all dined at one board; and the poorest man could boast himself the emperor's guest. At such a festival Caligula, seeing a Roman knight and a senator looking particularly delighted, sent the knight his own portion and made the senator a praetor *extra ordinem*.

Sometimes, too, presents, especially of fruit and eatables, were thrown down to the audience; at the festival in December, 88, it rained figs, dates, nuts, plums, cakes, cheese and pastry in the morning, and in the evening, birds, pheasants, and Numidian partridges. Often, too, tickets were showered down, entitling the receiver to the most diverse, and often valuable prizes: some examples are extant. Domitian once, when most of the tickets had on the first day fallen among the third order, directed fifty each to be thrown among the knights and senators. At a very long and magnificent festival, founded by Nero for the eternity of the Roman Empire, every day thousands of different birds were thrown down, and tickets entitling the holders to furniture, corn, clothing, gold, silver, jewellery, pearls, pictures, paintings, draught animals, tamed beasts and ships, lodging-houses and country estates. Titus used similar tickets at the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre. At one feast of Elagabalus, a ticket might win its holder ten bears, ten dormice, ten lettuces, ten pounds of gold; but swine never, as the Emperor's religion forbade his eating them. On such occasions there was much disorder, rough play or even loss of life. The wise left before this scene came on, knowing that trifles were bought there too dear. Speculators, too, would buy anything a scrambler might get, beforehand. In the later Empire many hundreds of animals of the chase, native or foreign, were sometimes given to the people. The first mention of this practice is in a festival, given by Gordian as aedile, and most of all at the games at Probus' triumph over the Germans and Blemmyes. The Circus was transformed into a forest by trees planted and fastened in. A thousand ostriches, stags, boars, wild sheep, antelopes and other antlered animals were driven in, and beasts of every description: then the people were

admitted and every one was allowed to seize and keep what he could.

At the great festivals not only Romans but strangers assembled in large numbers. In Republican times the *municipia* flocked to share in Rome's games, and, when Rome became the centre of the world, the curious of all nations. At Julius Caesar's triumphal games, the influx was so great that most had to stay in shanties and tents in the streets, and many, including two senators, were crushed to death. For his great spectacles Augustus had the city patrolled to prevent burglaries in the deserted streets; at his presentation of a naval fight, as Ovid says, men and women from East and West flocked together, and the world came to Rome. In Martial's description of the spectacles at the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre, no people, however barbarous or foreign, failed to send its contingent. The farmer from the foot of the Balkan, the Sarmatian who fed on mare's milk, the dwellers at the sources of the Nile, the inhabitants of the ocean-marge, Sabaeans, Arabians, Sicambrians, with their hair knotted on their heads, and curly-haired negroes; the motley languages united in one common acclamation to the emperor as *pater patriae*. Dio says that the lightning which at the Volcanalia 217 (August 23) destroyed the amphitheatre, smote, not only Rome, but all the world which used to frequent it.

These facts illustrate the huge attempts to entertain the Roman people. The Roman populace was indeed accustomed to greatness, as none other. It had seen, century after century, its Circus filled with triumphal processions of conquered kings of distant lands, and the treasures of the earth heaped up for Rome. They, the heirs of this great past, still commanded the world: things marvellous and incredible they daily heard, and Rome the eternal, the wonder of antiquity and modernity, was ever before their eyes. But the spectacles did not occupy only the masses, for whom they were intended. The impression of these exciting scenes of night fascinated all, infected the intellect of Rome, even the highest and most cultured circles, and especially the women. How the games pervaded every man's thought, the proverbs show. When they drew breath, they breathed in the passion for the circus, the stage and the arena, 'an original evil

begotten in the womb'. But, certain as are the evil moral effects of the games even on the upper classes, the demonstration of it in detail is impossible.

One sign of this decadence, sufficient in itself to show the prevalence of these degrading influences, must be mentioned: the public appearance of men, and even women of noble family on the stage, in the arena, and in the racecourse. Various motives concurred to produce this unprecedented contravention of law and morality—the decay and poverty of a part of the nobility, the compulsion of the emperors; but this is not cause enough. The presence of the emperors at the spectacles sufficiently proves the aristocratic mania for them, uncurbed by law or custom. Many emperors not only aimed at proficiency in acting, dancing, music, chariot-driving, gladiatorship, but exhibited their prowess before companies of varying size. Nero traversed Greece as a professional artist; Commodus left the palace to live in the gladiators' school; Caracalla in a blue livery publicly drove his chariot; it must have been an infatuation that compelled men of noble birth to this degradation.

Even under Augustus a wastrel's last refuge was the school of gladiators; but this last dishonour was rare, and amongst the senators rarer than amongst the knights, and the emperors seldom directly or indirectly forced knights or senators to appear in public. Apart from the wish of some few to diminish the offensiveness of their own appearance in the arena by a general imitation, Caesarism, with its hatred of aristocracy, its class-levelling, and favouring of the populace, would not regret the degradation of the upper classes; and the mob would be delighted at seeing the noblest of the State exhibit themselves like slaves and hirelings, to provide a holiday.

But most of the Emperors had no such thoughts, or restrained them out of respect to custom, law or their own intimacies. The first Caesar did indeed show his autocratic disrespect for rank. In his Circus games young nobles raced, and Laberius the knight was bribed and forced on to the stage, and others into the arena. But soon after his death (38 B.C.) senators were forbidden to appear in the arena; and some time after 16 B.C. there followed a *senatus consultum* prohibiting senators and knights from the stage as well. Suetonius

says Augustus did employ knights and senators in both capacities, but only before this decree. In the spectacles given by Augustus in 29 B.C. at the dedication of the Temple of Caesar, patricians and knights ran horse and chariot races, and a senator, Quintus Vintelius, appeared as a gladiator. Nero's grandfather, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, during his praetorship and consulate 16 B.C. had a mime acted by knights and married women. In 10 A.D. knights were expressly allowed to appear as gladiators. Tiberius, a thorough aristocrat, had more contempt for the mob than hatred of the aristocracy, and would not degrade the upper classes; he sternly enforced the *senatus consultum*, and punished the decadent youth of both orders who evaded it by getting themselves convicted of some dishonourable act. In 15 A.D., at one of Drusus' spectacles, two knights fought. Tiberius was present, and, after one had fallen, forbade the other continuing. In Caligula's spectacles, senators drove chariots, and, as a punishment for alleged public appearances in the arena or on the stage, many knights and senators were put to death or forced to fight as gladiators. Claudius apparently not only had the intention of stopping the abuse, but succeeded. Under Nero, however, the first emperor to act in public, the passion reached its highest point: rank, sex, wealth, reputation, all availed nothing against the imperial whim to drive them to the degradation of the stage or the arena. Vitellius issued a sharp edict against this degradation of the knighthood; and Domitian made some ostentation of anxiety for the honour of rank; he expelled a man of quaestorian rank from the Senate, Caecilius Rufinus, for his love of dancing. In 91 Acilius Glabrio had to fight a lion at the Alban villa, or, according to another account, volunteered there to fight a bear; one ground for his execution in 95 was this combat. Up to Commodus, the succeeding emperors did not force senators or knights to appear in public. Yet a man of ill fame in the Senate could tell Marcus Aurelius he saw about him many praetors who had fought with him in the arena; and Severus could answer the Senate's complaints at Commodus' appearing in the amphitheatre, by asking whether none of the senators had fought as gladiators; else why should certain of them have bought Commodus' shields and golden helmets? 'When the fore-

head is scarred enough with the mask, it is used for the helmet', says Seneca. 'Under an emperor who plays the cithara in public, a noble comedian may be expected', says Juvenal. 'The next stage is the gladiators' school'.

Thus, excepting for Nero, the emperors are not most to blame for this degradation of senators and knights; an unmistakable sign of the irresistible influence of these marvellous spectacles upon men's minds.

I THE CIRCUS

§ 1

Between the parallel slopes of the Aventine and Palatine there is a valley 600 metres long and 150 broad, an ideal arena for races, and chariot-races especially. During the Republic the accommodation for the races and the spectators was extremely simple. The constructions begun by Julius Caesar and completed by Augustus first made the Roman Circus one of its most splendid buildings. The seats for the spectators were separated from the course by a ditch ten feet broad, and rose in three tiers in the form of an amphitheatre. The lowest of these consisted of stone, and the two upper of wood, and wood was used up to late times, as collapses are often mentioned, one under Antoninus Pius, in which 1,112 lives were lost, and also under Diocletian and Maximin. Under Augustus the structure was not very lofty, and there was a view on to the Circus from the upper stories of the houses around, a position Augustus liked. The first large reconstruction was undertaken by Nero after the great fire of 64 which destroyed no small part of the Circus, whence it started; he also had the moat filled in and utilized for extra seats. Another fire under Domitian occasioned a further reconstruction, which was completed by Trajan. The Circus was then further enlarged in connexion with a scheme of decoration: an inscription makes Trajan boast of having provided room enough for the whole Roman people. According to Pliny the Younger (A.D. 100) its endless length was in harmony with the gorgeousness of the temples; it was worthy of the sovereign nation, and, in itself, no less remarkable than the games exhibited in it. We have only scanty references to

later restorations and extensions. The seating accommodation at the last was from 180,000 to 190,000. The lowest seats, those nearest to the course, were assigned to the senators, the next tier to the knights and the rest to the commonalty. Women sat with the men, not apart as at the other spectacles. The emperor and his family sat amongst the senators, or built their boxes in the lowest tier.

The decorations were rich throughout. An account dating from the fourth century specifies the bronze on the rows of seats. But the principal feature was the obelisk Augustus set up in the centre (now in the Piazza del Popolo); Constantius added another larger one (now in the Piazza del Laterano). The circus was surrounded by a one-storey edifice with staircases and entrances, affording easy access and exits for thousands at once; containing in its cellars shops and conveniences, and above, the owner's residence; of three cellars two served as shops and refreshment places, and the third as the entrance. This low block of buildings was always lively, and seldom proper. In Ennius' day street-corner astrologers made the Circus their resort; hence Horace, who liked walking about amongst the augurs there in the evenings, speaks of the deceitful circus; and, in Juvenal's time, such seers gave mean folk advice, and predicted their fortunes with little stones on boards. Further, even in Cicero's day, there were cookshops in the Circus; the players, who there amused the rabble, were honoured by Augustus to the extent of performing before his guests. The great fire under Nero broke out in the part of the Circus next to Mons Caelius and the Palatine, in the shops with their inflammable wares. The name of one fruit-dealer of the Great Circus has come down to us in an inscription. But these cellars, as also those round the Theatre and the Stadium, were used as brothels: a Christian writer remarks that the road to the Circus lay through the brothel. The prostitutes included Syrians and Oriental women in foreign dress, who danced obscenely to the sound of kettle-drums, cymbals and castagnettes.

The performances, in the course of the centuries, become longer, more various and more magnificent. The main feature was, as always, the chariot-races. But there were also races on horseback, the riders, after an old Roman military custom, leaping from horse to horse, or plying arms on

horseback, picking up their prizes from the ground in full gallop, and other similar exploits. They would lie down on galloping steeds, leap over four-in-hands. Pugilists, runners, wrestlers were common in the earlier epoch, and later too in *stadia* specially constructed: thus in 44 A.D. there was an athletic contest in the Circus. An inscription found near the grove of the Arvales mentions a Green runner Fuscus, who died at the age of 24, and won 53 times at Rome, twice in the Circus of the Arvales, and once at Bovillae; one of these races he won only at the second lap: he was the best runner of his time, and, at his first appearance in 35 A.D., won the race. Pliny mentions the long runs frequent in the Circus of his day: his distances seem fabulous; one boy eight years old ran 75 *millia* from midday to evening; another 160 *millia*; an inscription of an imperial runner tells of his doing 94 *millia* on one day; as a wonderful feat Fletcher, the Englishman, is said to have done 60 miles in 14 hours, and Barclay 90 in 21½; the Peruvian messengers of the Incas ran 50 *leguas* (about 200 miles) in 24 hours.

In Republican times there used to be mock-fights in the Circus, and other military exhibitions undertaken by young citizens in full armour; divisions of troops, foot or cavalry, replaced them under the Empire. Or again the equestrian order in its six *turmae*, each led by its captain, and the whole troop commanded by the 'First of the Youth' (generally the heir to the throne) used to perform in gala-dress in the Circus. Boys of noble descent, too, used to figure before the people in the Circus in the so-called Troy-play, an old custom revived by Augustus, and much in favour with the Julian Emperors. The boys, mainly of senatorial family, and occasionally the young princes, in detachments according to age (of boys under 11, or under 17) went through cavalry exercise in glittering armour. Baitings of wild animals and gladiatorial games, generally reserved for the amphitheatre, were given, especially if on a large scale, in the Circus, perhaps invariably before the building of the Colosseum; as were the performances in which Androclus and his lion appeared.

But these circus-games, however splendid in accoutrement and dignified in the performers, never ranked as high as the chariot-races, in which the masses felt an absorbing interest in the so-called factions of the charioteers, not, like the Greeks,

in the persons of the competitors, or, like moderns, in the horses themselves. Yet the growing passion for the races led gradually to an intense interest in the horses.

In ancient times citizens with their chariots and slaves took part in the races, and the wreath of victory was considered as honourable as that of the triumphant conqueror, and, like it, laid on the funeral hearse. But it was always a loss of dignity to expose one's own person for the popular pleasure, even though the charioteer was not as contemptible as an actor or gladiator; this arduous and dangerous occupation was therefore relegated to common folk, freedmen and slaves, the latter being sometimes rewarded with their freedom; the prizes were palms and wreaths, money, and, later, valuable dresses. These races were promoted by the public spirit of their givers, and yet more by the competition of the factions for the best performers, who often made their fortunes. Of the charioteers known through inscriptions, only one, Scirtus, served one and the same faction (the White) for thirteen years. Another charioteer, Diocles, joined the Red faction only after trying the three others; from inscriptions we learn that others won victories for all four, and earned some large share of the prizes. Scorpus, the famous charioteer under Domitian, according to Martial, in one hour, won, for his victory, fifteen purses of gold; Juvenal estimates the income of one Red charioteer as a hundred times as much as that of an advocate. Sometimes they had a voice in the management of the Faction. Yet, in the later Empire, their earnings increased; but modern jockeys gain larger fees. Vopiscus says that Furius Placidus' consulate (? 343 A.D.) was so gorgeously celebrated that 'the charioteers received no mere rewards, but landed properties; they wore half-silken tunics, embroidered linen, and had horses; whereat honest people groaned'. Libanius, about this time, mentions the wealth of the charioteers in the East.

The heroes of the racecourse personally attracted much attention. On the track they were greeted with acclamation and good wishes. Much of this applause may have been purchased. St. Jerome speaks of the buying of popular favour, after the manner of charioteers. But the more famous had a really devoted number of adherents always in their train. Martial wrote two poems to Scorpus, 'the lustre of the

noisy circus, the delight of Rome and the object of its applause', after his death at the age of 27. He calls on the gods of victory, favour, honour and fame to mourn him. 'Envious fate counted his wreaths of honour, and deemed him an old man. The saunterers round the Porticus of Quirinus talked first of the bettings on Scorpus and Incitatus, the runner, and, next only, of Martial's latest epigrams'. Gilded bronze busts and statues of Scorpus were in 89 A.D. plentiful in Rome, and commemorative columns for the victors of the racecourse must have become still more common. Tourists to Rome in the middle of the second century were amazed at the many statues of charioteers in racing costume; to this day the most various monuments are found, showing that every art concerned itself with the perpetuation of their fame.

Further, the doings of the most eminent charioteers would be mentioned in the official *Acta diurna* of Rome, and even formally recorded on stone, either by themselves, or their admirers. Some such records are extant. In them the winning horses, the prizes, and the distinctions (extolled as unexampled) are catalogued. An indication is given of the increasing vogue of chariot-racing in the first century. The White charioteer Scirtus, according to his inscription, won seven times with a four-in-hand, and four times, at the second race (*revocatus*), and won the second prize 29 times, and the third 60 times; this was from 13–25 A.D., a period meagre in spectacles. One hundred years later there was a class of *miliarii* amongst the charioteers, those who had won a thousand victories. Crescens, a Moor, a Blue charioteer, drove a four-in-hand at the age of thirteen, and from 115–124 ran 686 races, getting the first prize 47 times, the second 130 times, and third 111 times, winning in all 1,558,346 sesterces (about £16,950), of which he had a large share. There is a monument to Gaius Apuleius Diocles (under Antoninus Pius, after 146 A.D.), a Spanish charioteer of the Red faction; it mentions Flavius Scorpus (no doubt the Scorpus of Martial) and Pompeius Musclosus, assigning them 2,048, and 3,559 victories. Diocles' monument was set up by his admirers and party, after his retirement at the age of 42. At eighteen he began driving a four-in-hand, ran 4,257 races, winning 1,462 and 1,361 times for the Reds; in racing with one chariot (of each faction, four in all) he had won 1,064 times, with two 347

times, and with three 51 times. Out of the 1,064, some of the races had been with six or seven in hand, and 92 for prizes from 30,000 to 60,000 sesterces. His total earnings amounted to 35,863,120 sesterces (more than £375,000). He had made nine horses win a hundred races, and one two hundred; his 'insignia' consisted in beating previous records. In one year, out of 134 victories he had won 118 in the most approved fashion with one chariot to each horse, and thus had surpassed his great rival Thallus. He was the first man since the foundation of Rome to win races for 50,000 sesterces eight times with the same three horses; and had won 29 such prizes, one more than any of his predecessors. On one day he had raced twice with six-in-hands for 40,000 sesterces, winning both, an unparalleled event; he had won a race for 50,000 sesterces with seven horses not yoked together, also a record; won a race for 30,000 without a whip; had gained fame for these novelties, and so on.

These charioteers are like modern jockeys in their appeal to the sporting circles of Europe, as then to the Roman factions, and in their winning for themselves and their backers enormous sums. Fred Archer's description in a sporting paper reads very much like these monuments. He was 'The most celebrated and fortunate jockey of modern times; he had raced 570 times, won 199 times, once after a dead heat, in five races he won had passed the barrier; come in second 126 times, third 80 times and was not placed 165 times. His fees at £3 and £5 would amount to £2,108. But, with money gifts from owners, his average income was from £8,000 to £10,000. Wherever he went he had his train of bookmakers. In six years, as the head of his profession, he won 1,172 races, and at all the principal meetings. Next to Archer came Charles Wood, who raced 458 times and won 89 times. The first six French jockeys altogether have not won as much as Fred Archer'. When Archer died on November 8, 1886, at the age of twenty-nine, he had won 2,749 races, and left a large fortune.

Roman Society, even the best, took keen interest in racing, partly because of the factions, and also in consequence of the passion for chariot-driving, a feeling excusable, in the eyes of moderate men, in the young, but blameworthy in men of ripe years and high position, and in the emperors. Young noble-

men not only drove the horses in the country roads, but also put on the break themselves, filled the mangers, and swore like coachmen and muleteers by the horse-goddess Epona. Nero's father Domitius Ahenobarbus had been in his youth a famous devotee of the charioteer's art. Vitellius, who was often seen in the Blue stables currying the horses, won the favour of Caligula and Nero through his zeal for charioteering, Caligula playing at it, but Nero being an expert. Amongst Caligula's favourites was Eutychus, the charioteer of the Greens; Caligula, after one feast, once gave him two million sesterces, and the Praetorians had to build stables for his horses. Lucius Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, Geta, and Elagabalus, were all affected with this passion. Elagabalus selected his favourites from amongst professional racers, and made the mother of Hierocles, his chief minion, a consular, and a charioteer, Gordius, Praefect of the Watch.

Circus-drivers turned their pre-eminence into an opportunity for impudence. In the early Empire, probably on certain days only, they might go about the city masked, and, as practical jokes, pilfer and cheat. Nero prohibited the custom. But nothing could restrain the licence of men who received imperial favour and were conscious of being indispensable.

The best racehorses were reared in the provinces. In Italy there were also breeding-stations, especially in the wide valleys of Apulia and Calabria. Tigellinus owned lands in these regions and bred circus-horses; he is said to have incited Nero's passion for racing. The Hirpine horses were considered the best; and Pliny asserts that for three-in-hands the Italian sort could not be beaten. In Sicily there were enormous stud-farms, where the conversion of corn land into pastures had begun in the early Empire; when Gregory the Great was selling off the horses on the property of the Church in Sicily, a mere four hundred that were to be left seemed too inconsiderable to take into account. Sicilian race-horses were also highly esteemed. In Greece the increasing desolation also converted wide areas into pasture, and Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania, Arcadia, Epidaurus and Sparta, all furnished good horses. Of horses from other provinces the African, to be distinguished from Moorish and Cyrenaic, most frequently occur; African horses of Spanish blood were reputed the best runners, though this title fell in the third

and fourth centuries to horses from Cappadocia and Spain. At this time Antioch, the luxurious capital of Syria, was famous for its circus, and gave no thought to the frightful expense and distance in importing Spanish horses from the Tagus and Guadalquivir to its races.

Racehorses, to be at their best, were either three or five years old, and, judging from their names on lists and other documents, they were mostly male. Their life was surprisingly long. Tuscus was the leading horse of Fortunatus of the Greens, and won 386 victories, and Victor belonging to Gutta Calpurnianus, 429; hence, 'they must, on any calculation based on our sources, have run at least four times as often in the four-in-hands, some 1,600 or 1,700 times; and the Great Circus was over a mile round. Yet one hundred victories was a great achievement; such a horse was called *centenarius*, and probably had special harness'. Naturally such animals fetched high prices, and cost more than slaves; they were carefully bred, and victorious racehorses sought out as stallions. Connoisseurs were very well acquainted with the pedigrees and records of famous horses, and had many a tale to tell of their intelligence. Thus Pliny says that at the Secular Games under Claudius one White charioteer was thrown out at the start, but his horses led the way and reached the goal first, of their own exertions. Another writer remarks that in the Circus horses were encouraged by flutes, dances (?), gay ribbons and burning torches. In the four-in-hand races, the most common, the best horse was always put on the left outside, as its speed and skill in turning determined the victory; and that horse was anxiously watched by the spectators. The names of them were on everybody's lips; they were greeted with acclamation in the Circus; every one knew which was running, Passerinus or Tigris; Martial, in spite of his fame as a poet, was not better known than the foal Andraemon. Monuments representing them are still extant. The passion often became a mania. Caligula is said to have aimed at making the horse Incitatus a consul; and, on days he was to race, soldiers were sent abroad to command silence and quiet for his repose. Epictetus says that one spectator, who saw his favourite left behind, wrapped himself in his cloak and fainted; when it picked up and came in first, he had to be revived. Nero awarded veteran

racehorses maintenance-money, as also did Verus and Commodus.

The providers of the festivals could seldom themselves find the men and animals, and the business was taken over by capitalists and large owners of slaves and stud-farms. Generally there were four chariots in competitions, and there were four firms for the four colours or parties. At the head of each faction were the *domini factionum*, there being one or several, nearly all, like the business classes, knights, though charioteers occasionally attained this rank. The providers of the festivals had to arrange with these companies, whose prices varied, according to occasion. When Nero, at his accession, extended the Games to performances of several days, these directors declined letting out their men, except for short periods, and treated the consuls and praetors with great arrogance. In 54 A.D. the Praetor Aulus Fabricius would not accede to the firms' demands, and ran his chariot with trained dogs. The Reds and the Whites gave way; the Blues and Greens only after Nero fixed the price. Commodus is said to have increased the games, in order to enrich the directors, who often received gifts. Gordian I, as a private man, distributed one hundred Cappadocian and one hundred Sicilian horses amongst them, obtaining the necessary imperial licence; and Symmachus at the Quaestorian Games of his son gave each of them five slaves. Once only (6 A.D.) is there any mention of the directors instituting Games at their own expense, and then together with the pantomimes; but in later times, shows given by the pantomimes, perhaps in conjunction with the directors, are mentioned on several occasions.

The numerous staff of the factions consisted partly in slaves, partly in paid freemen, and included the grooms for the stables and the Circus, besides artisans, artists, and officials of all sorts. Wheelwrights, shoemakers, tailors, pearl-workers, physicians, instructors, messengers, runners, cellarers, and administrators are mentioned in lists of the employees, and shifted from one faction to another. The stables of all four were in the IXth Region, probably at the base of the Capitol near the Flaminian Circus. In part, at least, these quarters had been built by the Emperors (Vitellius, despite his short reign, contributed large sums), and were very splendid;

Caligula used to frequent the Green stables, and dine there. The relation of the factions to the fisc and the city administration is obscure.

The colours were White, Red, Green and Blue. White and Red were the original parties; their early history is unknown; there is a contemporary reference to them in the first century B.C. Perhaps Green and Blue arose under the Empire. Domitian added two new colours, Gold and Purple, which may have been purely imperial: these two soon completely disappeared. The Greens and Blues, from the Early Empire onwards, thrust the older parties out of view; possibly they amalgamated, the Whites with the Greens, and the Reds with the Blues, without altogether losing their identity. In Constantinople of the eighth century these were the four colours, but a writer of the twelfth speaks of the factions as things of the past.

The Circus factions in Rome and Constantinople are amongst the most remarkable phenomena of the Empire. The whole huge population, from the rulers of the world down to the proletariat and the slaves, were divided into four, later on into two, hostile camps. The unnatural politics of the time and the growing demoralization and brutalization of Rome are hereby clearly exemplified. To the Government this diversion of popular passion was extremely useful, and no one, it seems, endeavoured to stem it. Several Emperors were overt partisans, Vitellius and Caracalla for the Blues, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Lucius Verus and Elagabalus for the Greens, who maintained the leadership in the Early Empire. But the Emperors not only incited the factions, but terrorized their antagonists. The factions found great support amongst the people in the large numbers their organization employed; an influence they no doubt confirmed to the utmost. But still more significant was the fact of the four colours; a party-cry was supplied to the populace, which could not understand horses and racing, but could always rally to the meaningless colours. For five hundred years this party-cry was inherited from generation to generation, in a decadent population, and at the one spectacle, the Circus, where excesses and bloodshed were rife. Nero or Marcus Aurelius might be the master of the world, the Empire might be at peace or tottering in civil war and insurrection, the barbarians on the frontiers

advancing or driven back; at Rome for high or low, free or slaves, men or women, Green and Blue was the one theme of anxiety and hope. Christianity dethroned the Gods of the Circus; but the Factions lived on, the Christians were not always restrained by their preachers from the arena. Why should they disdain God's boons? Had not Elijah gone to Heaven in a chariot? Could then charioteering be sinful? Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome from 442–460, complained that his people visited the Circus more than the shrines of the martyrs, who had saved Rome from utter destruction by Attila. When the barbarians were threatening Carthage (439), according to Salvianus of Massilia the presbyter, the Carthaginian mob flocked madly to the racecourse. Trèves, thrice conquered and destroyed, found its few surviving noblemen demanding games from the Emperors to be celebrated on the charnel-house of their own dead.

But this infatuation reached its height, not at Rome, but, in the East, at Constantinople, where, as early as the middle of the fourth century, this passion led to riots. At the time of which we know more, in Rome, despite the continuance of the Reds and Whites, the struggle was only between the Greens and Blues. But at Constantinople the conflict was often religious and political, and all the more savage and endemic. For his faction every man endured torture and death and committed crimes; above country, kin, friends, home, faith or law, stood Party; even the women, who then never attended the spectacles, were tainted: it became a general mania. The Nika riot, which broke out in the Circus of Constantinople in 532 A.D., would have cost Justinian his life, but for the presence of mind of Theodora his wife, and the loyalty of Belisarius; thirty thousand are said to have perished. Probably, too, the adherents of the parties wore the colours in the Circus; an epigram of Martial, however, is the sole authority, which says, that a Green or Blue devotee should not wear a scarlet toga; should he get one in a lottery, it might shake his loyalty.

Contemporary references to the Roman Circus and the Factions are too scanty to enable us to trace the growth of the gigantic evil. We can only deal with isolated indications of the magnitude and extent of the passion. In the last century of the Republic, at the funeral of a Red charioteer, Felix,

one of his supporters threw himself on the same pyre. Pliny the Elder reports this on the unimpeachable authority of the Official Journal, and adds, that the opposition party, to depreciate the artist's fame, alleged the suicide was stupefied by the fragrances burnt with the body. But, despite this case, even in Augustus' time, the Factions cannot have been as developed and organized as they were fifty years later. Ovid places one of his elegies in the Circus ; he is looking at the races in his lady's company ; a motley throng is bursting out of the *carceres*, but he and she gaze only at one charioteer, disregarding his colour. Horace often refers to the Theatre and the gladiators, hardly ever to the Circus, never to the factions. It was in the course of the first century, partly as a consequence of the infatuation of Caligula, Nero and Vitellius, that the system grew up. Caligula's partisanship for the Greens has been mentioned ; according to Dio, he had the Blue charioteers and horses poisoned. Nero, as a schoolboy, was blamed by his teacher for his incessant talk about the Circus ; once he disobediently lamented the fate of a Green charioteer dragged along on the ground by his horses ; and, when reproved, said he was speaking of Hector and Achilles. As Emperor he did more than merely favour the Greens actively ; he wore Green in the Circus, and had the Circus strewn with green copper dust (chrysocolla) instead of sand ; as also at the spectacles in honour of Tiridates, the King of Parthia. Vitellius even deigned to act as groom for the Blues, and owed his nomination to the post of Governor of Lower Germany to Titus Vinius, a favourite at the Court of Galba, and a Blue partisan. As emperor, he sought for popular favour in the Circus by a degrading exhibition of partisanship ; but he also had some men who decried the Blues out loud, executed, interpreting the expression as an execration of himself, and a herald of revolution. Though the succeeding emperors took no direct part, the factions and the passion for spectacles developed at the same rate ; and, at the end of the first century, the mania obsessed the whole mind of Rome, leaving no room for culture, and giving deeper thinkers much matter for earnest thought. Youth at home and at lectures discoursed of nothing else ; even the teachers had to condescend to take part in such discussions. Amongst educated men the feeling that it was safe to talk about the

Circus made the topic a favourite one. The time when the Roman people was engrossed in *panem et circenses*, was the zenith of the Empire. In Trajan's reign, unprejudiced observers wondered why, in the Circus, attention was given, not to the speed of the horses nor the skill of the men, but to pieces of coloured cloth, which, if exchanged in the race, changed men's sympathies as well. And then, the same people who were acclaiming by name horses and drivers would suddenly abandon them. And it was not only the people. Serious men found an insatiable delight in them. Pliny the Younger (from whom these reflections are quoted) was almost proud of his superior indifference. Juvenal, writing under Hadrian, says that a defeat of the Greens in the Circus was deplored at Rome, as though it were a Cannae. Marcus Aurelius, who was brought up at the Court of Hadrian, thought he was especially indebted to his preceptor for preserving him from this partisanship. No doubt this was an innuendo against his colleague, Lucius Verus, who was a keen devotee of the Circus, kept up a large correspondence on it with the provinces, and an over-zealous partisan of the Greens; hence, even in the presence of Marcus Aurelius, he had to put up with abuse from the Blues. Fronto, the tutor of both emperors, was not saved by his pedantry from this besetting passion; not unnaturally, he sided with his imperial pupil, and not even bad gout made him abstain from frequenting the Circus. In an account of Rome by a Greek tourist, written about this time, the circus-life, the statues of charioteers and general conversation on horses, and this hippomania, even in the great men, is the main characteristic; he does not deal with the significance of the Factions, a point which might well escape a foreigner. Yet Galen, who from 163–5 and occasionally from 169 onwards was in Rome, dwells on the senseless interest in the four colours, and notes that the partisans of the Blues and the Greens smelt the dung of the racehorses, to satisfy themselves as to the digestibility and fitness of their fodder.

There are only extremely scanty sources for third century history; the Circus and the factions are scarcely mentioned, except perhaps under Caracalla, who in shameless publicity drove his chariot on the course and once, on hearing outcries against a charioteer of his party (the Blues), gave orders to

the Guard to kill the offenders, and made the Circus a scene of slaughter and confusion. One hundred and fifty years later Ammianus Marcellinus describes Roman morals at an epoch of utter decay from within, and imminent danger from the East and the North; but even he, filled as he was with astonishment and contempt for the passion for the Circus, never mentions the Factions. To the mob, the Circus was its temple, home, place of assembly and ideal. Everywhere groups of men would stand eagerly discussing the events; grey-haired men, boasting of their experience, swore that the Empire was doomed if their predictions turned out wrong. On Circus-days the people flocked to the course before sunrise, or passed sleepless nights in anticipation. It was a wonderful sight, this immense throng absorbed in the races. But no less keen were the haughty nobility who received messengers to hear of the arrival of new horses and drivers, like the Dioscuri of old, who brought news of the victory over Tarquin. And, a century and a half later still, when the Empire was a thing of the past, swept away in the stream of barbarians, when Rome was being governed by Theodoric the Goth, the Circus still rang to the same passions. Theodoric left Rome her beloved games, and was hence often greeted as Trajan and Valentinian, whom he took as models. In 509 there was a fight in the Circus. Two senators, Importunus and Theodoricus, adherents of the Blues, attacked the Greens; one man was killed. In a rescript relating to the Circus, and drawn up by Cassiodorus, the learned private secretary of the King, the excitement of the passions in the Circus is remarked on as strange; it was so much greater than in other spectacles. Whichever faction win or lose, one half of the people is in despair; there is no triumph, but they exult; no disaster, but they lament; these petty quarrels are as keenly felt as though they were national losses. The games destroyed moral purpose, gave an incentive to paltry disputes; uprightness vanished, and discord flourished. Finally, the rescript runs, it is rightly said that a spectacle involving so much dishonour is aptly dedicated to idolatry. And the King tolerated it only to afford the people some relief; he had sometimes to act foolishly, if he was to please them. Further, under Theodoric the whole of the Circus was no longer used for chariot-driving. One of the rescripts mentions that Volusianus

a senator owned a tower of the Circus (and a seat in the amphitheatre) which was illegally taken from his children.

Thus the rivalry of the colours survived the Western Empire, and died out only when the Circus vanished. The last race was held in the deserted and impoverished city in 549 under Totila the Goth.

§ 2

At the end of the fourth century, Symmachus was engaged in a correspondence on the preparations for his son's Praetorian Games. This source, though late, gives a standard of the magnificence which high officials, even in the earlier Empire, lavished on their celebrations. For Rome can hardly have had less wealthy and luxurious senators in the earlier Empire than under Theodosius, and the preparations can only have varied in kind, in the stagings, the horses and attendants. In the early Empire the factions apparently undertook this work, whilst Symmachus, to judge by his letters, himself bought or hired charioteers and horses. Symmachus, as above mentioned, was only moderately opulent for a senator of his time; but his games aroused great attention and are a standard for the more gorgeous.

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus owned three palaces in Rome, had held every highest office of State, and was in every sense one of the greatest men of his day. With a number of like-minded spirits he made every effort to assert the fallen cause of paganism against the victorious onset of Christianity. The aims of himself and his associates were, as much to revive classical literature as classical faith, with which the spectacles were so closely connected; and the games, regarded by Christians as an idolatrous horror, were all the more treated by Symmachus as a holy obligation, a great prop for his creed, the more so as he held two of the highest priesthoods. Other worldly considerations also stirred his zeal; a high conception of what was due to the majesty of Rome, the dignity of his house and the wishes of his order. He therefore strenuously availed himself of every resource of his great influence and wealth, and his far-reaching connexions, to outbid the great expectations of splendour at the games for his son's praetorship. The horses he imported almost entirely from Spain. A man of his station could easily obtain the privilege of using

the imperial post for his agents. Thus numerous agents of his, well provided with money, instructions and letters of recommendation to the best breeders, and connoisseurs, travelled to Spain, sure of the support of powerful individuals and corporations. Symmachus thought he must satisfy the popular desire for variety: hence he requests a breeder Eupraxius to get him four four-in-hands from one Laudacius, though Eupraxius' were acknowledged the best horses. Further, his agents were commissioned to secure the best racehorses of all breeds. This careful selection made the arduous business even slower; and he had to await the spring, before the transportation to Italy could be carried out. To provide for this eventuality, Symmachus directed a friend in Southern France to keep the selected horses in his stables for the three or four winter months, and, should any specially good racehorses be for sale near Arles, to purchase them as well. But this long journey necessarily involved the certainty of disease and accident thinning the numbers; of four sets of four-in-hands sent him as a present by one Sallustius, only eleven arrived alive, and some of these even died soon after. Hence the offers of Helpidius, a horse-breeder in Italy, were accepted. Symmachus asks him to send the best of his chariot-racers, and to consider quality rather than quantity, as the certainty of a large number from Spain made the selection of Italian horses very narrow.

Defective and irregular communications by sea made the arrival of the charioteers doubtful, though these came from no further than Sicily. As soon as his Sicilian agent advised him of their departure, he commissioned his son-in-law in the Gulf of Naples to send reliable men all along the coast to Salerno to receive them ashore. Then a mutual friend was to furnish anything necessary, and to despatch them by ship to Rome. But time went by, and no news came of their arrival. Symmachus thought fit to demand an official inquiry on the coast. Whether the ship arrived in time, we do not know.

The days preceding such festivals, entailing such tremendous preparations, filled all Rome with eager suspense. Conversation turned on nothing but disputes and bets. Soothsayers were consulted. Firmicus Maternus recommends astrologers to keep aloof from the Circus, in order not to be identified with any party. Magic was employed to accelerate or retard the

pace. Tablets of lead were laid in graves and the daemons conjured to injure or slacken the speed of the horse and charioteer specified ; a number of such tablets have been found on the Via Appia and at Carthage. The daemon (so runs one of them) is to take the strength out of the horses, that they might neither run, nor leave the starting-point, nor gain in the race, nor turn at the goal-pillars, but there upset with their drivers. Or the daemon is to make the drivers blind, or hurl them out of the chariot, if possible near the goal, and thus drag them along, to the injury of themselves and the horses. Or again, a chariot-driver must be ' fettered to-morrow in the Circus, like this cock, hand, foot and head '. Ammianus tells of a charioteer, who was condemned to death in 364, since he confessed to apprenticing his son, a boy, to learn forbidden lore of a magician. Another man prayed to St. Hilarion for protection against a magician, who had enchanted his horses so that they could not run. Cassiodorus mentions that Thomas, an Oriental charioteer at Rome, was suspected of magic by reason of his frequent victories. The lead tablets on the Via Appia date from 390–420 A.D., and at least one of the charioteers named was a Christian. The Circus employees, whose superstitious vein was heightened by the danger of their profession, no doubt used amulets. Besides amulets, charioteers, athletes and other performers of the fourth and fifth centuries wore embossed medals with high rims (contorniates), with an effigy of Alexander the Great, who was supposed to ward off accidents, a widely spread belief. The horses had bells hung on them, to guard against enchantment.

And, on the great day, hours before dawn, the streets were thronged. Once Caligula was disturbed in the middle of the night by the noise of the crowd going to the Circus ; he had them cudgelled away, and in the crush twenty knights, twenty married women and a large number of the poor perished. Elagabalus is said to have thrown a large number of snakes into this crowd ; the people, bitten in the dark streets, fled, and many were injured. Under Claudius and Nero knights and senators had special seats, with easy access, whilst the thousands of the third estate had to crush into theirs, despite the many entrances ; the Circus, at any rate in the earlier centuries, was never large enough for the vast number of eager spectators. People of moderate means, in Trajan's

time, longed to possess two sturdy Moesian slaves, to carry them safely to a good place in the Circus. Cushions stuffed with rushes also seem to have been sold to the public. Further, the whole space could not be covered with an awning, and against wind, or rain, or sun, there was no means of protection, save cloaks, hats, and umbrellas. For all that, women were the most devoted frequenters, and came, despite the dust, and crowd, and heat, in their best; they sat with the men, and increased the attraction for them.

A religious ceremony preceded the games. Down from the Capitol came a great procession with the sacred statues and went over the gaily bedecked Forum; thence through the shops of the Tuscan quarter, and over the Velabrum and the Cattle-Market, and so through the middle gate into the Circus and round the goal-posts. The magistrate giving the spectacle led the procession; a praetor or consul standing in the dress of a triumphant general on a lofty chariot; the folds of the broad gold-braided, purple toga round him, and beneath it a tunic embroidered with palms, and the ivory sceptre with an eagle's head in his hand; and, over his head, a huge wreath of golden oak-leaves set with jewels, was held up by a public slave. On the chariot or the horses his children also sat, as at a triumph. Musicians and other attendants preceded him, and a host of clients in white toga surrounded the car. Augustus once, when ill, had himself carried in a sedan-chair, in order not to miss this honour. To the sound of flute and trumpet, the procession entered; the statues of the gods carried on thrones and litters, or gorgeous cars drawn by mules, horses or elephants, decked with their attributes, and accompanied by the priesthood and religious corporations. The ceremonial exactly followed the pedantic cult of Rome; the least mischance might invalidate the celebration, and make a new start essential. Those who were interested in repetitions, could easily cite some breach of the ceremonials; but Claudius decreed that the games might only be renewed for one day and so practically annulled the abuse. The assembl· rose from their seats at the entry of the magistrate, and cheere him; and, as in modern Italy at processions of emblems of the saints, many invoke their patrons, so in ancient Rome countryfolk greeted Ceres, soldiers Mars, lovers Venus, and believed, as Ovid hints, an unsteady statue was nodding to them.

Political feelings might also be expressed, especially as pictures of the emperor and the imperial family were also carried in procession, especially those upon whom divine honours were bestowed. Serious thinkers under Titus or Trajan might well reflect, and see dismal glimpses of the past, whilst the figures of the beautiful men and women of the Caesarian family passed by him. But most of the spectators regarded the procession so decorous and slow, and almost endless, as a tedious prelude.

To determine the bounds of the races, at the start and end of the course three conical pillars were erected, and for the whole length between these two points a low wall (or walls with a moat) was drawn, on which stood the two obelisks, and also sacred statues, pillars and shrines. Originally the great Circus had four gates on each side of the great central gate, that is, eight in all, increased possibly under Domitian to twelve, when he created the two new factions. Hence, after the four factions system was restored, each party might run three chariots; but this seldom happened; two were frequent, but one the most usual. Diocles won 51 races with three chariots, 347 with two, and 1,064 with one. The ordinary four racing chariots started from the four gates on the right of the principal entrance. To make the distances equal for the cars, the wall between the gates was a curve, the gates nearest the middle being farther back, and the other curving in; further, these starting points were probably assigned by lot. The chariots, starting from the entrance, proceeded through the road on the right of the wall up to the farthest boundary-pillars, steered round them and returned to the starting-point on the left of the wall. This round was taken seven times; and, to inform the spectators at any instant how many circuits had been made, seven dolphins and seven egg-shaped balls were planted high up on the wall between the boundary pillars, and one was taken down at each completed round. The chariot won, which at the seventh round first passed a chalk line, drawn near the entrance on the left. Second and third prizes were also awarded.

The number of these seven-lap races varied. In the Early Empire ten or twelve a day was the normal; in 37 A.D., at the inauguration of a Temple of Augustus, Caligula had twenty

on the first day, and twenty-four on the second. This number, which made the games last from the morning until the evening, became usual; and, after Nero, only at minor festivals were there fewer races. More than twenty-four were only given on extraordinary occasions, if two festivals coincided (e.g., in the fourth century, Trajan's birthday and Constantine's victory over Licinius on September 8, and, on November 8, the birthday of Nerva and that of Constantius II, both double festivals were celebrated with forty-eight races). On three other days of high significance thirty or thirty-six were given. But when over twenty-four were given, the length of each may have been shortened.

Races were usually with four or two-in-hands, rarely with three-in-hands. Tiros began with two-in-hands. The tombstone of a slave charioteer at Tarraco, who died at the age of 22, runs: 'In this grave are the bones of a novice of the racecourse, but not unskilled in the art. I already had begun with four-in-hands, though still confined to two horses'. But Crescens (see p. 23) at the age of thirteen drove a four-in-hand, and boys even younger drove two horses. The experts (who delighted in extraordinary feats) would drive six, seven, eight and ten horses. Nero drove a ten-horse chariot at Olympia, though in one of his poems he blames King Mithridates for this practice, and received the prize, despite an unlucky run. Mithridates is said to have driven sixteen. The two-wheeled chariots, familiar from numerous ancient representations, were light and small. In the case of four-in-hands, the most popular form, the horses were harnessed next to one another, the best outside on the left, the middle ones yoked, or the three on the right only reined in. On exacter representations the tails of both outer horses are fastened together or docked, to prevent entanglements with other chariots. The charioteers stood on the cars with a short tunic braced round the body, the arms bare, a helmet-cap on their heads covering their foreheads and cheeks, to afford some protection in case of a fall; whip in hand, and a knife in their broad belts to cut the traces in the last extremity, a precaution necessitated by the practice of fastening the reins to the belt. As a remedy against the constant injury from being dragged on the ground or run over, the drivers used boar's dung without

and within ; Nero is said to have drunk the ash of it in water. The tunics and harness were in the four colours.

When the races were starting, there was a low buzz of expectation in the sea of spectators. No eye but was turned to the vaulted, roped-in gates by the entrance, in which the four-in-hands stood chafing and stamping. The president from his balcony above the main entrance dropped a white handkerchief as the signal. Ennius' description of the people in the Circus anxiously awaiting the Consul's signal answers exactly to Tertullian the Christian's account of the heathen spectacle he regarded as damnable ; he looked on the falling handkerchief as a symbol of the fall of Lucifer. The ropes dropped, and from the open gates the chariots stormed into the course, raising clouds of dust, although doubtless the arena was watered in the intervals. A great cry burst out. The drivers bending forward, urged their steeds onward. The total distance on their seven laps was about eight kilometres ; no race could have lasted over a quarter of an hour. Skilled drivers employed every device to win. Once ahead they would drive askew to block the road or, if in the middle of the chariots, 'trusting to a freer course' would bend to the right, or would drive straight home: but they aimed especially at postponing any decisive issue to the finish, spared their strength for the last lap, and then easily overtook the novices who had passed them at first and were now vainly lashing their exhausted teams. Every turn, every instant was of import to the drivers and intelligent onlookers, and an indication of the result. Victories of drivers who were last at the beginning were more esteemed than a clear lead from the outset. Often the drivers fell off and were dragged on by the horses ; but the great test and difficulty lay in the seven turns round the goal. The attempt to choose the shortest way often brought about collisions with other chariots or the post, and chariots, animals and drivers lay in frightful confusion on the ground.

But, as a Christian writer properly says, the great spectacle was the spectators. The long rows of rising seats were thronged with a moving mass of men, moved by one passion, almost a mania. Near the close of a race suspense, anxiety, fury, joy, savagery burst forth. Their eyes ever fixed on the chariots, they clapped and shrieked with all their lungs,

sprang up, bent over, waved handkerchiefs, incited their favourites, stretched out their arms as though they could reach the course, gnashed their teeth, groaned, threatened, exulted, triumphed, or swore. The winning chariot aroused a thunderous applause—and loud curses from the losers—re-echoed over the deserted streets of Rome, announcing to those who stayed at home the end of the race, and struck the ear of the traveller, when Rome had vanished from sight. The races lasted unintermittently (except for short pauses at midday) from daybreak to sundown, but the people sat there patiently, despite sun and rain, and never wearied of following their idolized sport with the same passionate attention.

The valley between the Aventine and Palatine, once so ull of noise and life, is now one of the dreariest and most solitary parts of ancient Rome. On the Palatine are the vast ruins of imperial palaces ; on the Aventine a few churches and cloisters stand amid vines and gardens. Great rubbish heaps of the once gorgeous temples and palaces choke up the slopes of the Aventine and the valley. In this desolation there is a miserable cemetery of the Jews. The brook of Marrana runs at the bottom of the valley, and on its banks an impenetrable forest of Roman reeds, exceeding a man's height, whispers and rustles.[1]

II. THE AMPHITHEATRE

The party system ensured the closest interest of the populace in the Circus, almost its participation, and the preparations were comparatively inexpensive ; at the other spectacles, to retain the attention of the public was more difficult, and various entertainments had to be lavishly provided. In the Amphitheatre most colossal efforts were made, and exciting spectacles, fairy-like splendour, a rapid succession of surprises and the charm of the infinite, the bizarre and the monstrous were always being offered, in order to surpass, or at least to meet, the claims and expectations of the spoilt capital.

[1] Written in 1864.

(1) The Gladiatorial Games

(*a*) Gladiatorial fights originated in Campania, as a dessert after gorgeous banquets, were native to Etruria, but in Latium an innovation. Five centuries after the foundation of the city, Rome saw them for the first time; for the first four centuries of the Republic exhibited only at public funerals, not, like plays and races, at State festivals. The rarity became usual, and more and more gorgeous and prodigal of human life. In 264 B.C., at the funeral of Brutus Pera, his sons Marcus and Decius exhibited in the oxen market three duels at once for the first time. At the obsequies of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus 216 B.C., twenty-two duels were fought in the forum; and at those of Marcus Valerius Laevinus 200 B.C., twenty-five; and in 183 B.C., at the funeral of Publius Licinius, sixty. In 174 there were several gladiatorial games, the chief of them being that given by Titus Flamininus at his father's funeral, in which seventy-four men fought for three days. One Gaius Terentius Lucanus, who celebrated his grandfather's death with a three days' fight of thirty pairs, placed a picture of it in the Temple of Diana at Aricia, probably about 145 B.C. In 105 B.C. the two consuls, Publius Rutilius Rufus and Gaius Manlius, for the first time gave official gladiatorial games, an innovation directed against Greek culture and also designed to promote military training. Legal provisions were made for official combats of this kind in Rome, the municipia and the colonies.

In the later Republic demagogy, and the competition for the favour of the mob incited the ambitious to even greater lavishness. In Julius Caesar's games at his aedileship (65 B.C.), he bought so many gladiators that his opponents' anxiety was aroused, and the Senate, at their suggestion, decreed the maximum number any private man might own. Caesar's diminished troop, however, still consisted of 320 pairs. In 22 B.C. Augustus enacted that the praetors should give gladiatorial shows only twice a year, and with never more than 120 combatants. But at private combats, 100 pairs then and later was quite an ordinary number. In a poem probably previous to this decree Horace mentions that one Staberius imposed on his heirs the obligation to inscribe on his tomb the amount of his property, or, in default, to give

the people a hundred duels and a public banquet. Persius makes a rich man express his intention of honouring the Gods and the Genius of Caligula with an exhibition of a hundred pairs of gladiators, for Caligula's victories over the Germans. Tiberius' limitation of the number of pairs can only have applied to private exhibitions; Augustus' decree already held for public ones. In the eight spectacles given by Augustus, he himself says that some 10,000 fought. This same number fought in the four months' spectacle at Rome given by Trajan after the conquest of Dacia. Magistrates' celebrations were sometimes as magnificent. In 70 A.D. Caecina and Valens, the consuls, celebrated Vitellius' birthday (September 7 or 24) with combats in all the 265 districts of Rome, 'on a vast and unparalleled scale'. Gordian I in the year of his aedileship, gave gladiatorial games every month, with at least 150 pairs, sometimes 500 at each: some 4,000 or 5,000 men must have been required in the course of the year.

With the numbers the style of the spectacles became more elaborate. In the second century B.C. the cost of a brilliant gladiatorial show was reckoned at thirty talents (£7,073); at Julius Caesar's games the paraphernalia were all of silver; at one of Nero's, of amber. And, as the empire expanded, the natives of the confines were dragged in to the Roman arena. During the Republic, Gauls, Samnites, Thracians were seen fighting; under the Empire, the tattooed savages of Britain, the fair Germans of the Rhine and the Danube, the dusky Moors from the Atlas, African negroes, and Sarmatian nomads. In Aurelian's triumph in 274 A.D., in front of the emperor's chariot there marched captive Goths, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suevi, Vandals and Germans with shackled hands, Palmyrenes and Egyptian rebels, and ten Gothic amazons; some, if not all, had to fight in the arena. After Probus' triumph over the Germans and Blemmyes (of Aethiopia) three hundred of the prisoners had to fight together; these were Germans, Blemmyes, Sarmatians and Isaurian bandits. At the end of the fourth century Saxons were also seen fighting in the Roman amphitheatre, if not earlier.

These foreign combatants brought their own weapons and style of fighting; the Thracians with their little round shields, the Samnites with large square shields, the Parthians with

their chain-armour, the Britons with their war-chariots; and where national habit was not various, fancy supplemented. Gladiators would appear in most diverse accoutrement, singly or in troops; regular battles were waged with thousands fighting, and the arena left covered with bodies: and famous sea-fights would be literally re-enacted on lakes, or the flooded arena.

Yet soon bloodthirsty combats and magnificent scenery failed to excite the dulled nerves of the mob, aristocratic or vulgar; only things absolutely exotic, unnatural, nonsensical, tickled their jaded senses. Domitian gave gladiatorial combats and animal hunts by night, and the swords reflected lamps and candelabra. In the December festival of 88 he set dwarfs and women fighting. At the spectacles given by Nero to Tiridates, the King of Parthia, at Puteoli, on one day only Moors of both sexes appeared, and of every age. Women often fought in the arena: in 64, under Nero, even noble women; as late as 200 A.D. the practice had to be formally prohibited.

Thus in the course of centuries from small beginnings the gladiatorial games had become an immense institution. The accommodation for spectators correspondingly increased. Even in the later Republic the people assembled on hastily erected scaffoldings in the forum, when, in Campania even, there were stone amphitheatres, which, duplicating the semi-circular theatre, rose above an elliptical arena; under Augustus the name of amphitheatre had arisen. In 53, according to Pliny the Elder, Gaius Scribonius Curio had two wooden theatres built, back to back, but reversible. Before noon they were used for stage-pieces; then, with the entire seated crowd, they were turned on pivots, and the completed amphitheatre served on the same afternoon for gladiators. The first real amphitheatre in Rome was built by Caesar in 46 B.C. of wood; a stone one built by Statilius Taurus in 29 B.C. was probably burned at Nero's fire; Nero even built a wooden one on the Campus Martius. Only at about 90 A.D. was the Colosseum of the Flavians finished, in its ruins a gigantic monument of that sunken world.

(*b*) Gladiators were recruited from condemned criminals, prisoners of war, slaves and volunteers. Condemnation to death by gladiators or wild beasts was one of the severest

sentences, the latter being pronounced against non-citizens and, in the later Empire, the third estate. Under Marcus Aurelius the governor of Lugdunensis, with the authority of the Emperor, had the condemned Christians, who were Roman citizens, beheaded, and the rest thrown to the beasts. But condemnation to the school of gladiators did not spell death. Criminals who might fight well were handed over partly to private establishments, and partly to the imperial ; and, should they not fall in the arena, had a chance of life. The punishment ranked with condemnation to the mines, and both entailed loss of freedom. But release might be obtained, and, after three years, the wooden sword, the token of relief from the arena, and after five the hat, or symbol of manumission, might be obtained. Pliny the Younger informs Trajan that in many cities of Bithynia, especially Nicomedia and Nicaea, many culprits condemned to several years of the gladiator's school or similar punishments are used as city slaves for public purposes, without any evidence of pardon by a proconsul or legate. Trajan decreed that criminals condemned within the last ten years should be sent back to the school, and those of remoter sentence, and the older men, turned on to heavy work, such as the cleaning of sewers, and building of streets. Only the worst offences incurred such penalties, such as robbery, murder, arson, sacrilege and mutiny, but the restrictions of the law were often overridden by the imperial caprice, if men were lacking for the arena.

This abuse was common enough among the provincial governors under the Republic. Cicero asserts that Lucius Piso Caesoninus, when proconsul of Macedonia, sent Publius Clodius for his aedile games a large number of innocent men, to fight wild beasts. Lucius Balbus the younger, as Quaestor in Spain (44–43 B.C.), twice endeavoured to force Fadius, a Roman citizen and Pompeian soldier, at Gades, to fight as a gladiator ; he failed utterly and the people protected him, so he sent Gaulish cavalry to capture him and had him burned alive in the Gladiators' School. He cast Roman citizens to the wild beasts and one man from Hispalis on account of his having a deformity.

Atrocities of this kind occurred in Rome, at least under Caligula and Claudius. Caligula coerced a large number of

citizens into the arena. One citizen, Esius Proculus, the son of a *primipilaris* and called Colosseros for his stature and beauty, he had removed from his seat during the games, and compelled him to fight two heavily armed gladiators, one after the other; Proculus overcame both, and was beheaded for his pains. Claudius delighted in animal-baitings, and condemned great swindlers to this punishment, in contravention of the law; he would make men face animals for the slightest offences, carpenters and engineers for bungling a change of scenery. Besides, the extraordinary number of supposed criminals condemned to the arena is in itself suspicious. Justice cannot have been even. In the naval fight performed before Claudius on Lake Fucinus, both fleets had 19,000 men at arms, according to Tacitus, all condemned criminals; a number large even when we consider they were brought out of all the provinces to Italy. In Rome a large number of convicts were at the disposal of the arena; thus Hadrian, to show his contempt of the presents given by Palasmanes, the King of the Iberians, ordered three hundred criminals to appear in the arena with gilded cloaks, a portion of the gift. Herod Agrippa, the King of the Jews (died in 44 A.D.), set all the condemned criminals of his realm, 1,400 in number, fighting in his amphitheatre at Berytus. At the popular desire, criminals, who distinguished themselves for bravery, or on other grounds, used to be pardoned. At the games given by Nero in his new amphitheatre on the Campus Martius he, of his own accord, forbade the killing of any of the criminals.

Any successful campaign brought hundreds of prisoners of war into the imperial gladiators' schools, and the spectacles of the amphitheatre were the readiest means of getting rid of them. Thus was it with the Britons captured and brought to Rome under Claudius in 44 A.D. After the conquest of Jerusalem Titus sent a portion of all the captives over seventeen years old into the Egyptian mines; and most of the rest to the provinces to die at the hands of gladiators or wild beasts; a large number he despatched in this way at once to Caesarea Philippi and Berytus. Constantine the Great followed the same example. The Bructeri 'too unreliable to be soldiers, and too savage to be slaves', were thrown to the wild beasts, probably in the amphitheatre of

Trèves, and the Emperor was exalted 'for making the general annihilation of the foe a public amusement: what better triumph?'

Part of the slave armies of the rich at the end of the Republic must have consisted of bands of gladiators, serving their owners as bravoes or bodyguards, used for private spectacles, or lent out. A farce by a poet under Sulla even, called 'The Hired One', contains words spoken by a gladiator. 'I do not belong to Memmius, or to Cassius or Munatius Ebria'. Cicero made special inquiry after the troop bought by Atticus in 56 B.C.; he heard that they fought splendidly, and, if Atticus would have hired them out, he would have recovered his money after the second exhibition. Many of the great men then had private fighting-schools, principally at Capua, which turned out hundreds of gladiators. The most ancient recorded there is that of Aurelius Scaurus (Consul in 108), which is mentioned in 105 B.C. In 73 B.C. 200 gladiators resolved to escape from the school of Gnaeus Lentulus Batiatus; only seventy, under the leadership of Spartacus, succeeded. Caesar, too, had his gladiators in Capua, and recommended them in 49 B.C to Cicero; Lentulus as Consul summoned them to arms in the cause of freedom, and used them as cavalry; this measure was generally deprecated, so Pompey distributed them amongst the citizens, as a bodyguard, giving each man two. At Ravenna, just before crossing the Rubicon, Caesar considered the plans of a new gladiator school. In the Catilinarian War, it was proposed to intern the Roman gladiators at Capua and other *municipia*. Catilina reckoned on them 'though they were better-minded than many patricians'. Gaius Marcellus, the Catilinarian, took flight when Cicero despatched Publius Sextius to Capua, but had, whilst there, practised with the most numerous troop in the town, in order to win it over. In 65 B.C. the largest number any private individual might own was fixed by the Senate (see p. 41). Caligula allowed this maximum to be exceeded. When under Domitian the State took over the provision of gladiators, private men may have been forbidden to keep them in the capital. At Rome, the practice of going out publicly with such a train (as did Nero on his night excursions) must have ceased at an earlier date. But in the provinces the private troops were

not interfered with under the Empire, and may often have been used in their master's service. Thus, when the three Pannonian legions mutinied in 14 A.D. the ringleaders alleged. that Junius Blaesus, the legate in command, kept his gladiators in camp, to corrupt the soldiery, and murder obnoxious individuals. And continually large numbers of gladiators are mentioned as slaves of rich houses. Women sometimes owned them; for instance, a certain Hecataea of Thasos. More frequently families of gladiators were held in joint ownership. One Primus and Pamphilus are designated in gladiatorial tokens (*tesserae*) as slaves of a well-known company. At Pompeii there are advertisements of gladiatorial combats, indicating several troops belonging to the principal men: only one of the owners specified, N. Festius Ampliatus, was perhaps an itinerant troopmaster. The legions, too, at the stations and garrisons of which there were often amphitheatres, sometimes kept their own gladiators. Gladiators passed from owner to owner by purchase, sale, or auction. Caligula used to oblige consuls and praetors to buy the survivors of his combats at enormous prices, and remarked at one of these auctions that the ex-praetor Aponius Saturninus had dropped off asleep. The auctioneer was instructed to take his nodding as a bid, and knocked him thirteen gladiators down for nine million sesterces.

In the first century there was no restriction on an owner's right of selling slaves to the arena; Vitellius sold Asiaticus, his favourite, to an itinerant trainer, in a fit of irritation at his prudishness. The first enactment was under Hadrian, which forbade a girl being sold to a pander, or a slave to a fighting school without the reason being assigned: Marcus Aurelius extended it to sales for the wild beasts; this last practice had been already prohibited, except with the judicial consent of the City Praefect at Rome, or the procurator in the provinces, by a Lex Petronia under Augustus. Androclus (the slave who, probably under Claudius, was set to fight the lion who recognized him) had run away from his master, when pro-consul in Africa. He was captured and brought back to Rome, and at his master's request, confirmed by the City Praefect, condemned to the beasts. We do not know how far the disposal of slaves as gladiators was limited, apart from this restriction of the penal authority of the owners. It was a problem of the

jurists in the second century, whether it were a case of sale or hire, if a contract were made to pay the owner of a gladiator twenty *denarii*, should he survive uninjured, or a thousand if killed or maimed. Slaves, attempting to evade the punishment for fraud or similar crimes by offering themselves to the arena, were to be returned to their masters, whether or not the combat with wild beasts had taken place, by a decree of Antoninus Pius. One proof of Macrinus' cruelty was considered to be his unreserved condemnation of runaway slaves to fight as gladiators, if caught.

Manumission exempted slaves who had served as gladiators from any further obligation to perform, unlike other freedmen, who still were liable to certain services. But, at their patrons' wish, freedmen also may have fought in the arena, for, as volunteers, they were more respected by the public (which consisted largely of freedmen). One of Trimalchio's guests says that a gorgeous three days' gladiatorial exhibition is coming on, in which a large number of freedmen would perform. Unquestionably, too, free-born men were sometimes coerced to fight, as was Fadius by Lucius Cornelius Balbus at Gades ; and it was a grievance of the Early Empire even, that the rich profited by the simplicity of young men, deceived them, and confined the most handsome and best suited for military service to a fighting-school.

Under the Empire free men often enrolled themselves ; if Roman citizens, they had to announce their intention to a tribune. Such incidents occurred even in the later Republic. A document of that period makes a citizen of Sassina present a cemetery to his town, from which volunteer gladiators, suicides by hanging, or those pursuing immoral trades were to be excluded. In the *Atellanae* there is frequent mention of such applications. The most ancient of the gladiatorial tokens extant, ranging from Sulla down to Claudius, with a free man's name is of 14 B.C. ; but this must be mere chance : out of sixty genuine ones, there are only five names of free-born men. At Pompeii there is a list of gladiators scratched on a wall, on which names of free-men occur, such as Marcus Artorius, and Lucius Sempronius. Sometimes, too, honourable motives may have induced the destitute to join ; a favourite subject for romances, and rhetorical themes is, e.g., the noble young man, who enrols in order to pay for his father's

funeral; the authority, however, is dubious. Lucian's tale of the Scythian Sisinnes also sounds romantic: he, to release his friend from an urgent need, sold himself to fight a gladiator at Amastris for a fixed sum of 10,000 drachmae.

Most, if not nearly all of the applicants who took the frightful oath 'to suffer themselves to be whipped with rods, burnt with fire, and killed with the steel' were the castaways or ne'er-do-wells of society. But such men were by no means few; nor was it the worst class whom love of fighting seduced into the hands of the troop-owners. A poet of Augustus' reign says that these pugnacious men sell themselves to die in the arena, to find an enemy in time of peace. And Tertullian exclaims: 'How many idle men contract themselves out to the sword, for love of combat'. When Severus began recruiting the Praetorians from the legionaries—up to then it had been the privilege of the Italians to serve in this force—Italians able to bear arms joined the gladiators *en masse* or went in for brigandage.

The profession of a gladiator must have really attracted men of rude courage; it had its advantages, rewards, and fame. The victors were generally rewarded: the provider of the festival sent them, whilst in the arena, bowls of gold-pieces, the number of which the spectators shouted out loud or signified with the fingers of the left hand; and the bowls, in themselves valuable, were also part of the prize. Tried fighters commanded high prices: Tiberius paid some veteran gladiators for one appearance 100,000 sesterces. Nero presented the *myrmillo* Spiculus with a palace and the possessions of former triumphant generals. Their splendid equipment also must have had its effect. At Pompeii and elsewhere, fragments of their rich and artistic armour have been preserved; helmets, and one vizor-helmet especially with embossed designs, and greaves, the shoulderpieces of the *retiarii*, belts, swords, breastplates etc. The casques were decorated with waving peacock or ostrich feathers. In picture and mosaics gladiators are represented in gay, gold-laced attire, with necklets (perhaps, like palms, signs of victory). Pertinax sold, as part of the inheritance of Commodus, weapons for gladiators, set with gold and jewels, 'swords of Hercules' and necklets. The heroes of the arena were as popular in Rome as those of the racecourse, not only with the lower

classes; in the upper, also, they had pupils, admirers and imitators.

In Republican times men played at being gladiators. Lucilius mentions a Quintus Velocius, who was proficient in Samnite fighting, and a good fencer. The Catilinarian Gaius Marcellus, as already mentioned, on the pretext of practising arms, joined a gladiators' troop at Capua. Julius Caesar had his gladiators trained by knights and even senators of Rome, who were skilled fighters; Suetonius knew of letters of his, still extant, in which he begged them to undertake this tuition. Several emperors sought proficiency in the gladiator's art. Caligula fought as a Thracian with sharp weapons. Titus, in his youth, at a festival at Reate, entered into a mock fight with gladiators' weapons against Allienus (probably Aulus Caecina Allienus, consul in 69). Hadrian also practised in this fashion, and Lucius Verus, too, in Antioch, whilst his legions were fighting the Parthians. Didius Julianus was reproached for continuing these exercises, as an old man; while he was young, it was excusable. Caracalla and Geta sought the society of gladiators and circus-drivers, when they were Caesars, to learn the art.

But Commodus was the most pronounced sufferer from this passion. He had all his visits to the gladiators' school (where he had a room) announced by herald; on January 1, 193, he was intending to enter on his consulship in a *secutor*'s uniform; his murderers anticipated him the day before. He delighted in the honorary titles of gladiators, and he boasted of having fought 1,000 times (365 in his father's reign, and also at the spectacles given by Clodius Albinus as Praetor in the forum and the theatre). Naturally he always won; according to Dio, he fought publicly with blunt weapons, and, to his own great pride, left-handed, as a *secutor*, against troop masters and gladiators; and, at a fourteen days' spectacle given shortly before his death, against Aemilius Laetus, the Praefect of the Praetorium, and Eclectus his chamberlain, who were already plotting his death. For every appearance he demanded a million sesterces from the gladiatorial chest. Dio also mentions that the senators (and Dio, as such) publicly had to applaud him, and wish him well.

Even women wore the oppressive vizor and armour and practised the proper strokes against a post, under tuition.

Gladiators were always ladies' favourites. Some of the scrawls on the peristyle columns of a Pompeian house dug out in 1889 mention a Thracian, Celadus, as *suspirium et decus puellarum*, and the *retiarius* Crescens as *dominum et medicum puparum*. Ladies, however highly placed, were attracted by the 'iron' irresistibly, and saw in every gladiator a Hyacinthus. Certainly they were often of heroic mould. Antony, who reminded Cicero of a gladiator, was by others compared to his ancestor Hercules. Nymphidius Sabinus, under Nero Praefect of the Praetorium, was taken to be the son of Martianus the gladiator, of whose fame his mother, a freedwoman, had been enamoured. And Faustina, the consort of Marcus Aurelius, was said to have been intimate with sailors and gladiators at Caieta, and to have been the mother of Commodus by one of the latter. The gladiators were sung by poets, saw their portraits on vases, dishes, lamps, glasses and seal-rings, and their exploits scratched by idlers on walls with coal and nails. In Rome and the provinces artists were incessantly occupied in decorating theatres, tombstones, palaces and temples with sculptures, mosaics and pictures, designed to immortalize, as they actually have, the fame of the combatants.

Hence it is easy to understand that the taste for this bloody pastime was not only widespread, but became a passion. The bold found its very danger an incentive; and they might hope to emerge from a series of combats rich and free. Certainly, some had to content themselves, after their release, as itinerant priests of Bellona; but others hung their arms up in a temple of Hercules, and, like Horace's Veianius, ended their lives on a country estate; and their sons sat in the equestrian seats at the theatre. A Caligula might extravagantly make Thracians captains of his German bodyguard, and one Sabinus a tribune for his bodily strength: but gladiators might easily pass into more honourable employs; even the Emperor Macrinus was rumoured to have been a gladiator. Thus their legal 'infamy' to a certain degree became meaningless; and the association of the upper classes with them helped to diminish the idea of disgrace in their work, thus continuously lowering the barriers between these pariahs and respectable society.

In modern Spain bull-fighting exercises a similar magnetism,

and for the same reasons: it is not labelled infamous and is less dangerous, on the whole. In 1883 it was calculated that every year two or three *matadores* were killed in all Spain; many retired early, severely wounded, and few attained any great age. More than the high pay recruited their ranks: fame and popular passion for the sport attracted them, though the public was as harsh as the ancient Roman populace and punished any trace of fear with hisses and whistling. Some twenty years later, bull-fights were called by a German observer, Theodor von Bernhardi, 'the only powerful claimant of the attention of the Spanish people'; the theatre interesting them but slightly. 'No victorious general, or statesman, ever attains the popularity of a famous bull-fighter'. All Spain knows the arena names of her favourite *toreros*; and their renown extends beyond Europe; they appear sometimes in Peru. A severe wound of such a *torero* disturbed all Madrid, more than any political event; the great ladies call to inquire into his condition; long rows of carriages defile past his house: and hourly bulletins are at first issued. Often, as in the days of Cervantes, there were noble amateurs of bull-fighting: Mérimée saw a marquis and a count as *matadores* at Seville. Count Schack knew a young *principe* who built a circus in his garden, and practised bull-fighting with young bulls, their horns blunted with wooden balls. In the winter of 1869 there were held dilettante bull-fights of five-year old animals, rendered innocuous in this fashion, and two-year old animals were faced by young ladies and girls in a little enclosed circus.

The enormous number of gladiators required every year in Italy and the provinces made the traffic in them a profitable business. But, whilst no dishonour attached to the noble owners of the troops, who sold and let them out, the profession was in disrepute. Martial expresses surprise that a man who condescended to every shameless course, had no money, as he was an informer, slandermonger, liar and *lanista* (gladiator-master). *Lanistae* had permanent offices or went about travelling in gladiators, buying them, selling them, letting them to providers of festivals, or giving games at a profit, which was also considered a dirty kind of business. Troops of gladiators were common in Augustus' Rome, for in the dearth from 6–8 A.D. they are expressly mentioned as being expelled, along with other aliens and slave-dealers' families. A copper

inscription was discovered in 1888 near Seville, which sheds new light on gladiators and their contractors, It informs us of a *senatus consultum* of about 177 A.D. under Marcus Aurelius, valid for the whole Empire, excepting Rome, and relieving the burdens of the givers of gladiatorial games in Italy and the provinces. The custom then was to announce in the advertisements of the games the price fixed in advance by the *editores* by the contracts with the *lanistae*. According to price the games were divided into five classes. The lowest (including those given by the *lanistae* and called *assiforanea*) cost 30,000 sesterces, the other classes ranging from 30,000 to 60,000, 60,000 to 100,000, 100,000 to 150,000, and lastly from 150,000 to 200,000, and in excess of this. The *senatus consultum* prescribed the maximum prices for gladiators in the several classes. 'Ordinary' men (*gregarii*), were to be paid for at 1,000 or 2,000 sesterces, and 'better' ones were further subdivided, according to the price, from 3,000 to 15,000 sesterces: 3,000 for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th classes, and 5,000 for the 5th. But at every performance in the first four classes, half of the combatants were to be *gregarii*; should the *lanistae* be unable to furnish the requisite number, 'better' men must be provided at the rate of the *gregarii*. Further, these gradations obtained only for the larger cities, where still higher prices had been the rule; for little towns average prices were to be made out, to be calculated from the last ten years' games. If, besides the prices paid by the providers of the festival to the contractors, prices were stipulated for the victors, the volunteer-gladiators (*auctorati*) were to receive a fourth, and slaves a fifth of their price as prizes. A second regulation designed to relieve the providers of the festivals was the abolition of the heavy poll-tax on the *lanistae*, the cost of which naturally fell on their employer. It had varied, according to the class of spectacle, from a fourth to a third of the stipulated estimate, and brought in an annual revenue of 20 or 30 millions of sesterces (£217,500 to £326,300); thus the annual outlay on those spectacles managed by *lanistae* for the whole empire, excepting Rome, must have been about £1,000,000. A portion of the arrears, amounting to over 50,000,000 sesterces (about £550,000), was to be remitted to the *lanistae*.

As early as 63 B.C. there was a gladiators' school in Rome. Caligula kept a large number of gladiators and also, it seems,

a school; according to Pliny the Elder, in that school, one Thracian, named Studiosus, had a right hand which was longer than his left; and of twenty pairs only two did not blink at a brandished weapon. Four great imperial schools are henceforth often mentioned—the Great School, the Gallic, the Dacian, and the school for animal-fighters, round the Flavian amphitheatre; not newly built (as the *City Chronicle* says) by Domitian, but only enlarged by him. Their departments were multifarious, including armouries, smithies, and mortuaries, and a large staff of instructors, physicians, actuaries and overseers; and, after Domitian, the Great School and the School for Animal-fighting were managed by procurators of the equestrian order. This post was held as a promotion for retired officers, such as legionary tribunes, civil servants, and the heads of a provincial fiscal department; and was a step to higher financial posts, such as the administration of death-duties; even the position of a sub-procurator at an imperial school was very much sought after.

Outside Rome as well there were imperial schools of gladiators, of which three are known, those at Capua. Praeneste and Alexandria, which also had their own administration. The last named was already in existence under Augustus. But, generally, in the provinces imperial glad iatorsmust have been fewer; often several provinces had only one procurator, as for instance Gaul, Spain, Germany, Britain and Raetia, and again the provinces of Asia Minor and Cyprus. No doubt these officials made circuits in their districts to do necessary business, and especially to select the combatants for Rome; hence they were in constant communication with the procurators of the capital. In single provinces there must have been sub-procurators to carry on current business. Provincial governors could only levy gladiators and *bestiarii* from their own provinces, and, by a rescript of Severus and Caracalla, could only transport them beyond the provincial boundary by imperial licence.

Criminals condemned to the beasts could not be pardoned by the procurators, and, should the prisoners be 'worthy', for their strength and skill, of being exhibited to the Roman people, had to petition the emperor. In 57 A.D. Nero issued an edict forbidding provincial governors from giving any spectacles (as they had done to win popular favour and silence

malcontents), but whether this remained in force, and for how long, is unknown.

At Rome there was always a considerable number of imperial gladiators. Josephus, speaking of the time after the murder of Caligula, mentions that a large number of gladiators went over into the camp of the Praetorians, and evidently means the imperial gladiators. After Nero's death Otho strengthened his army with 2,000 of them; two centuries later there were 2,000 under Gordian III, whom Philip set fighting to celebrate the millenary of Rome; there were 1,200 in a procession of Gallienus, and in the triumph of Aurelius 1,600. As Italian and provincial imperial gladiators were procurable in any number at short notice, on extraordinary occasions many thousands could be easily supplied.

The plan of the Great School at Rome, engraved on a fragment of the marble plan of the city, of the time of Severus, gives us an idea of the arrangement of these schools; but clearer indications are derived from the gladiators' barracks, restored under Nero on the foundation of a theatre portico at Pompeii, its object being proved by the gladiators' vizors which have been found there. A rectangle, 173 feet by 139, is surrounded by a roofed hall, with seventy Dorian pillars. Besides some rooms of uncertain purpose, there were a large kitchen and a prison, and seventy-one living and sleeping rooms, ten to twelve feet square, without windows, opening on to the hall, and arranged in two floors. Both the pillars and the walls are scrawled over with inscriptions and pictures of gladiatorial life: on the outer wall there is a notice of a coming combat, and two pictures of trophies of gladiatorial weapons are preserved.

To keep troops of criminals and prisoners of war and the scum of the population in check, the utmost precautions were taken. Gladiators were completely disarmed, kept more or less in confinement, and in the imperial schools guarded by soldiers. Spartacus and his associates escaped from the school at Capua, overpowered the guard, armed themselves with swords, which they seized in Capua, sticks, travellers' daggers, and weapons forged by themselves. Seneca and Symmachus mention occasional suicides in these schools: the suicides had to evade the guard, and commit the act without weapons. In 64 A.D. an attempted escape at Praeneste was foiled by the

vigilance of the guards. The discipline was of the severest, as the oath proves. The punishments were scourging, branding and confinement in chains. The prison of the Pompeian school was so low that the captives could only sit or lie down; leg-irons for ten prisoners and four skeletons have been found at Pompeii.

Only in one respect did gladiators fare better than condemned criminals; their bodily well-being was a matter of anxious thought. A healthy locality was always chosen for the schools: such as Capua with its ideal climate, Praeneste with its pure mountain air, Ravenna and Alexandria, where the sea-breezes tempered the heat. The food given was designed to develop muscle; barley was used for this purpose: hence the men were nicknamed *hordearii*. Galen says that the gladiators he treated at Pergamus ate beans and barley every day, which made their flesh loose and not, as was desired, firm. Juvenal's 'mess' (*miscellanea*) of the gladiatorial school, which the spendthrift will have to put up with, shows that gladiators' food was generally considered bad. Their meals were prescribed in quality and quantity; they 'ate and drank what they were to return in blood'. Distinguished surgeons healed their wounds, and some of their prescriptions have been preserved by Scribonius Largus; physicians were in attendance to see to their diet being strictly kept; *unctores*, a special class of slaves, looked after their massage, which was highly esteemed in ancient times.

To encourage a common worship of patron-gods, and perhaps for other reasons as well, gladiators and other imperial slaves were allowed to form guilds. Thus, according to an inscription of 177, a number of Commodus' gladiators formed a guild which worshipped Silvanus. At Dea (Die) the 'huntsmen who serve in the arena' (i.e. the *bestiarii* in the amphitheatre) form a union, and thus, too, elsewhere. The special kinds of combatants also combined. Thus one Thracian has a grave erected to him by the whole guild (*armatura*) of the Thracians, and a *secutor* by a brother-in-arms (*coarmio*); but there were also in the same schools friendly relations between the several sets. The grave of a *retiarius* of the Great School at Rome was put up by a *myrmillo* of the same school, his messmate (*convictor*).

Each class had its special instructor. Novices practised

with wooden swords at a man of straw or a post : the weapons used in more adept practice were heavier than those used in the arena : possibly the very weighty ones found at Pompeii were for practice. The fencing of the gladiators was a science, and its technical expressions generally understood. Quintilian compares the speeches of counsel with the fencing of gladiators : 'the second stroke becomes the third, if the first be made to make the opponent thrust ; or becomes the fourth, if there be a double feint, so that there are two bouts of parrying and riposte'. The words of command (*dictata*) used by the instructors were shouted out to the antagonists in the arena by the public, and these hints were sometimes of service even to the best-trained gladiators. In 105 B.C. the consul Publius Rutilius had an instructor from the schools to teach the legionaries the 'finer art of parrying and thrusting'. Left-handed fighting was especially valued ; Commodus distinguished himself in it.

The schools had a sort of military organization. Fine titles were generously distributed, and the names of the famous combatants of old revived. Success entitled gladiators to rise, perhaps to some position of command over their fellows, and thus they became veterans. In the Guild of Silvanus the first *decurio* consisted of veterans in six kinds of weapons, the second was commanded by a veteran, and the third were mostly tiros. At the end they received the wooden sword of dismissal ; but, after release, they often would fight for a good fee, or act as instructors.

Very many of them would not have exchanged their lot. Many of the imperial gladiators, says Epictetus, are indignant if not allowed to appear. They pray the gods, and beset the procurator, for permission to fight. Tiberius gave but few games, and Seneca heard a *myrmillo* complain of the days passing profitless. They were animated by a certain feeling of honour ; they would not fight except with their equals ; and a wild bravery, born of the certainty that love of life made their spectators merciless, rendered them contemptuous of death. Without a groan they would bear the severest wound ; when their blood was draining away they asked their master, should they desist or perish ; the most cowardly learnt how to die.

Gladiators were sometimes used in civil wars and fought

with the utmost courage, and the utmost devotion to those who fattened them for the arena. After the battle of Actium, Antony's lost cause was deserted by great and small, and only the gladiators whom he had practised at Cyzicus for his anticipated victory remained true to him. Of their own free will, they marched off to join him in Egypt; nothing could restrain them; finding that they could not force a passage, they sent a message to Antony to come to Syria, and only abandoned him when he neither came nor replied. Lucius Antonius and Decimus Brutus also recruited from gladiators. Otho enlisted two thousand; 'a shameful expedient, which in the Civil War was not disdained by the sternest generals', says Tacitus; but they were not as trustworthy as the soldiers. Out of Vitellius' gladiators who were surprised at Terracina, only a few stood their ground. Marcus Aurelius, in the pressure of the war with the Marcomanni, armed even slaves, and formed a corps of gladiators, whom he called the Obedient (*obsequentes*). Didius Julianus, also, at Severus' approach armed the gladiators of Capua.

In these troops of despised and brutalized men the fate of those who had seen better days was doubly miserable. In the rhetorical essay on the youth who enlists in the gladiators to be able to bury his father, he is described as 'standing in a slave's costume, and expecting a shameful death, and seeing the pictures of his happier past; thinking of all that he will never again see, his house and family and friends; and that once he ranked, as a man of family, wealth and education above the giver of the spectacle'. And woe to him whom, in the company of vulgarity, vice and misery, such recollections overcame! His life was sheer torture, and death the only happiness he desired. The strictest watch over him was in vain; suicide became only the more heroic. Though such incidents are only occasionally related, it does not follow that they were rare. What barbarities might go on in those torture-chambers the incident of Lucius Balbus and Fadius illustrates. Seneca tells in the last year of Nero of two recent heroic suicides of *bestiarii*. One of them, in the early morning, was being drawn on a chariot between two soldiers to the arena. He pretended to be overcome by sleep, let his head droop between the spokes of the wheel, and waited until his neck was broken. Mutinies, conspiracies and revolts were frequent in

these schools, although another Spartacus never arose. In 64 A.D. an attempt of the gladiators at Praeneste to escape caused grave anxiety at Rome, and was suppressed by the garrison on the spot. Under Probus eighty gladiators in Rome itself succeeded in escaping, and were only overcome after a brave resistance. A letter of Symmachus mentions one incident yet more frightful. Some of the brave Saxons, who adventured in little boats from the Baltic into the ocean, and ravaged the coasts of Gaul, had been captured by the Romans. A number of them were to appear in Symmachus' Games. On the first day twenty-nine of them had strangled one another with their bare hands.

The gladiatorial games were announced by advertisements, painted by order of the organizers of the festival on the walls of buildings public and private, and on the grave stones which lined the main roads leading into the towns: they were the work of a special class of scribes who used colours, and these men were sometimes begged on the tomb-stones not to profane the last resting-place. On two such stones outside the Porta Nuceria of Pompeii, notices were found of amphitheatrical games at Nola and Nuceria. Of the Pompeian games some announcements have been found elsewhere, e.g.: 'thirty pairs of gladiators belonging to the *quinquennalis*, Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius, and their understudies (to replace the dead) will fight in Pompeii from the 24th to the 26th November. There will also be baitings of animals. Long live the Quinquennalis!' Or again, 'The family of gladiators belonging to the Aedile Aulus Suettius Certus will fight at Pompeii on the 31st May. There will also be baitings of animals, and an awning will be provided'. Often, too, besides the awnings, sprinkling with water to lay the dust and cool the air were promised. Or, instead of a date 'if the weather allow' or 'without any delay!' Often too the names of the principal performers were arranged in pairs, in order of combat, and the organizers, to keep the people excited, used to add new pairs every day: then lists were copied out, sold in the streets and exported.

On the eve of the spectacle, the fighters of animals and men were given a so-called 'free banquet' with every luxury: the curious might enter and look on. The rougher and brutalized ate and drank with no thought for the morrow, but many took

sad leave from their children and wives, whom they commended to the care of their friends, manumitted their slaves, and the Christians, who were to fight for their faith in the arena, held a last ἀγάπη.

The spectacle began with a parade of the gladiators in full uniform through the arena, possibly to the cry, once mentioned by Suetonius, of 'Ave, Imperator, morituri te salutant'. Novices apparently at their first appearance had to run the gauntlet, a frequent feature of the amphitheatre often mentioned in Christian martyrologies. The giver of the festival was then invited to examine the weapons. One special brand of gladiators' swords was named after Tiberius' son Drusus; they were sharpened to excess; Drusus was naturally cruel and careless of life. Domitian also made regulations to make the combats yet more severe. In 93 Martial is glad to be able to say that the good old customs of the Roman arena had been revived, and courage was exercised in simpler combats. But Marcus Aurelius enjoined the use of blunted weapons.

The first scene consisted of mock-fights, in which lances were thrown, sometimes to music. The sombre *tubae* announced the first fight with sharp weapons, which began to the sound of horns and trumpets and the shriller pipes and flutes. The most varied episodes now succeeded one another: *retiarii*, half-naked, almost armourless, mobile figures with net, trident and dagger, pursued by *secutores* in vizor, shield and sword; hovering round the *myrmillones*, half-cowering under them, they sought to entangle their antagonists in the net, and kill them with trident or dagger. Or the Samnites with their huge square shields, that covered their whole persons, met with their short straight swords, the scimitars of the Thracians, who had heavier armour, but little round shields. Cavalry fought with long spears, the *essedarii* on British war-chariots, the horses of which were managed by a man standing beside the combatants. Other species of gladiators are occasionally mentioned, but very vaguely.

When one duellist was struck, the universal cry rang out: *habet*. The provider of the festival had the right of decision, but generally consigned the fallen to the mercy of the spectators. The wounded (according to a Greek custom) laid their shield down and lifted up, in sign of prayer for life, one finger of the left hand. The spectators signified mercy by waving

handkerchiefs or lifting their thumbs : turning the thumb down meant death. Brave gladiators often rejected popular interference, and made signs that their wounds were slight, and they could still go on : such met with pity ; the faint-hearted aroused the anger of the populace, who thought it an insult a gladiator should not be willing to die. The cowards were driven in with whips and hot irons to fight. The inflamed spectators shouted : ' Whip him on, kill him, burn him ! Why does he fear the sword ? why is he giving the death-strokes so unwillingly ? Why does he die so sullenly ? ' Spectacles used to be given in which the *missio* of wounded fighters was forbidden, and the combat was to the end, until Augustus forbade them, and publicly censured in an edict the cruelty of Nero's father, Gnaeus Domitius, after a confidential warning had failed. Very often, too, the victor had to fight an under-study immediately after. In the intervals the blood-drenched ground was shovelled up by boys and Moorish slaves sprinkled fresh sand. The victors brandished their palms, and the fallen were taken by men garbed as Mercury, the god of the nether world ; others, wearing the mask of the Etruscan daemon Charon, probed them with hot irons, to see if they were shamming death. Hearses stood ready in anticipation, and on them they were borne through the gate of the Goddess of Death into the mortuary. Any who still showed signs of life were killed.

Factions were formed in the amphitheatre, but never to the same extent as in the Circus. For the passion found its full exercise there, and there were no corporate organizations. But besides devotees of famous gladiators, the amphitheatre formed parties for the various kinds of combatants : for the *myrmillones* and Samnites, who bore large shields, and the Thracians, with their small shields. These factions permeated the whole of society, including even the emperors : to the former Domitian adhered, and Caligula and Titus to the latter ; hence Martial speaks of the Thracians, who seldom won, and their adherents with some contempt. Domitian was present, when one spectator remarked that a Thracian who had fallen could have stood up against his antagonist, but not against the arbitrary giver of the spectacles : the emperor had him hauled out into the arena and thrown to the dogs, with a label on his neck, ' an adherent of the Thracians who has spoken im-

piously'. In consequence of similar incidents, Pliny the Younger says that Trajan restored liberty of party and applause to the spectators. 'No one is now accused of *impietas* for hating a gladiator, or on that account himself made a part of the spectacle, by suffering a martyr's death for his unfortunate whim. The man who collected material for treason in the arena, thought himself despised if his fighters were not honoured, deemed insults to them an insult to his divinity, and considered the gods, himself and his gladiators identical—that man must have been mad, and ignorant of true honour'. Marcus Aurelius congratulates himself on impartiality between the two shields in the arena, and between the two colours in the circus. Yet great import attached to these factions: the inscription of a slave oil-dealer, Crescens, says he had been a Blue in the Circus and a Thracian in the amphitheatre.

Great *battues* were hardly possible in the amphitheatre, and were very occasionally given in other places. Julius Caesar, at his triumph, had a battle performed in the Circus, the boundary columns removed, and two camps thrown up; five hundred fought on either side, three hundred infantry and twenty elephants, with garrisoned towers on their backs. In 7 B.C., in honour of Agrippa who died in 12 B.C., a battle was performed in the *saepta* he had built. After the conquest of Britain in 44 A.D., Claudius had a realistic representation of the capture and sacking of a British town and the surrender of the princes performed on the Campus Martius, presided over by himself in a general's mantle. A smaller fight between two equal troops of infantry was given by Nero in 57 A.D., in the amphitheatre; and larger combats of cavalry and infantry by Domitian in his triumphal games in the Circus.

(2) Animal-baiting

(*a*). Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, the conqueror of Aetolia in 186 B.C., gave the first known exhibition of animals at Rome. This was eighty years after the introduction of gladiatorial games, though to be torn asunder by wild beasts had been a form of sentence of death. Thenceforth this spectacle, which took place under the Republic in the great Circus, as occasionally later, became frequent, and more and more splendid. The animals were simply exhibited, or also hunted and killed by

men or other animals. The men who fought them were not only condemned criminals and prisoners of war, but also hirelings; Seneca makes his bankrupt spendthrift undecided whether to become a gladiator or a *bestiarius*. This profession shared the dishonour and the glamour of gladiature. Men thronged to it, says Tertullian, and prided themselves on scars and bites, as beauty-marks: and Ulpian mentions unpaid volunteers, who fought for sheer bravery's sake. There were families of *bestiarii* as of gladiators, trained in special schools: we may compare Ferdinand VII's Royal School of Tauromachy, founded at Seville in 1830. One of Domitian's four imperial schools was almost entirely given up to the training of *bestiarii*. If animal shows were given along with other games, they generally preceded, and began in the early morning. According to Suetonius, Claudius enjoyed these fights of criminals with wild beasts and hurried to the spot in good time before daybreak.

As the empire expanded, these games were given on a larger scale. The subduing of the African domains of Carthage preceded their introduction; forty years later Carthage became a province. The wild creatures of this region were the only non-European ones seen for over a century in the Circus. At that first exhibition, lions and panthers were as plenteous, in Livy's estimate, as in Augustus' time; and seventeen years later, 189 B.C., the Circus *venationes* of Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, evidenced the 'growing splendour'; there were sixty-three African animals (panthers, leopards and possibly hyaenas), forty bears and several elephants. Plautus even had seen ostriches flitting across the Circus. Besides these foreign animals, deer, hares and stags, boars, bears and bulls from the woods of Apulia and Lucania, the Pontine Marshes and the Apennines were hunted in the Circus and often, probably, only these native animals; and at the Feast of Flora, annual after 183 B.C., only harmless animals.

The spectacles of the last century of the Republic bear testimony to the worldwide extent of the Empire. Between 58–46 B.C. three *venationes* of unparalleled splendour were given in succession, at which animals were paraded, whose very names were scarce known at Rome, and most difficult of capture: such as, in 58, crocodiles and hippopotami from the Nile at the festival given by Scaurus; the rhinoceros, the lynx,

and a species of African ape, never again seen, at the five days' *venatio* at Pompey's dedication of his theatre ; and the giraffe at the five days' festival given by Caesar at his triumph in 46 B.C. These rare and costly animals were often seen in Rome afterwards in large numbers, and even killed ; Cassius Dio saw Commodus kill on one day five *hippopotami*, and on two other days two elephants, a giraffe and some rhinoceroses. Varro had thought tigers an impossible capture, but in 11 B.C. and frequently afterwards they were seen both tame and wild.

In ancient Rome such animals were often seen ; in medieval and modern Rome even the sight of less rare beasts roused a great excitement. Charlemagne in 801, through his ambassador, Isaac the Jew, received an elephant and an ape from Harun al Rashid, and a Numidian bear and Moorish lion from an African Emir. These facts are recorded in the biography of Charlemagne by the monk of St. Gall, and by Eginhard in his annals ; the latter also tells of an elephant's voyage and sudden death in the Münster country. Henry I had lions, leopards, lynxes and camels at Woodstock. The easy transport from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean and the warm climate made it all the easier to buy Southern animals, or receive them as gifts from Sultans. The Emperor Frederick II had in his gardens camels, lions, tigers, leopards, and one giraffe, a present from the Sultan of Egypt, which Albertus Magnus saw and described. Frederick used to take rare animals with him on his travels and campaigns ; at his entry into Cremona in 1237 an elephant drew the *carroccio*. On great occasions the animals were set to fight each other or dogs, to amuse the people. And towns and princes took pride in keeping living lions, who also were useful as public executioners : Florence used leopards for this purpose comparatively early (in 1291).

Towards the close of the fifteenth century several of the princely courts of Italy regularly possessed real menageries (*serragli*) ; the one at Naples under Ferrante contained a giraffe and a zebra. In 1459 a giraffe was seen at Florence, and, when Kayt Bey, Sultan of the Mamelukes, presented a second one to Lorenzo il Magnifico, Antonio Costanzio described it in 1487, and Politian collated all the ancient authorities on this remarkable animal. Johannes Schiltberger of Munich calls it *surnasa*, and saw one about 1400 at Dily (Delhi), and Felix

Fabri, the preaching monk of Ulm, another at Cairo. Buffon had to be content with travellers' descriptions. It was not brought to France from Alexandria before 1826. According to Thibaut's account, who was the first to capture giraffes alive on the steppes of Cordofan, the young are caught, after killing the mothers; the enterprise is incredibly difficult. For whole weeks the huntsman must remain on the steppes, take with him the best horses, camels and cows, and have as guides native Arabs; otherwise nothing can be done: the cows are needed to feed the young animals. From the interior of Africa, they and the cows are brought by short stages to the coast, and thence transhipped in special cages.

On May, 1, 1513, a live rhinoceros was brought to King Emanuel of Portugal from India, and Sebastian Münster thought fit to mention the event in his Cosmography. Albrecht Dürer has left us an imperfect reproduction of this first rhinoceros, afterwards often copied; Chardin (who died in 1713) saw one at Ispahan, and about 1700 gave a better description; but in 1664 and 1689 rhinoceroses were seen in London, as also later, e.g., 1739 and 1741; the rhinoceros of 1741 was also shown in Germany, as mentioned in Gillert's well-known tale, and is entitled in a copper-plate the Behemoth (Job xl. 10). In 1793 one arrived at Paris, and in 1816 another in Germany.

But no hippopotamus was seen in Europe after Roman days, before the one brought to the London Zoological Gardens on May 25, 1850. The British consul at Cairo had to exert all the pressure at his command to induce the Pasha of Egypt to make this costly present. A whole division was occupied in capturing it; its transport from the White Nile to Cairo took five or six months; on November 14, 1849, it reached Cairo, and wintered there. From Alexandria it was forwarded in a steamer specially constructed with a freshwater tank containing 400 gallons, and daily renewed; whilst two cows and ten goats barely satisfied its requirements of milk. These facts serve to illustrate the colossal outlay for the lavish arena of the Roman Empire.

Yet, besides the huge numbers, there was a huge variety brought together at the great *venationes*. It must be remembered that, according to Dio, there was much exaggeration, and further, that in two thousand years many species have almost become extinct; yet, even half would constitute an

enormous number. But no subsequent exhibitions were ever on the scale of those of Pompey and Caesar. At Pompey's games there were, as recorded, 17 or 18 elephants, 500 or 600 lions, 410 other African animals; and at Caesar's 400 lions and 40 elephants. But the exhibition of hundreds of lions and bears and African animals at spectacles, not to speak of larger numbers of commoner animals, was, according to the imperial historians, by no means rare. According to Augustus' own statement, who took especial delight in 'untold numbers and unknown shapes of beasts', 500 African animals alone were laid low in the spectacles he provided. At the hundred days' festival given by Titus at the dedication of the Flavian amphitheatre in 80 A.D., on one day 5,000 wild animals of various sorts were exhibited, and 9,000 tame and wild was the sum total of the killed, and, at the four months' festival of Trajan in 107 A.D. at the second Dacian triumph, 11,000.

The animals, consumed at Rome for one great festival, would amply stock all the Zoological Gardens of modern Europe. Science also profited of this profusion. According to Galen, physicians assembled at the dissection of a large elephant; the heart was taken out by the imperial cooks. Drugs were also concocted out of the parts of wild animals. Artists also studied their shapes; the famous sculptor, Pasitales, a contemporary of Pompey, was one day modelling a lion in one cage, when a panther escaped out of an adjoining cage, and he barely escaped with his life.

But *venationes* were also given, throughout the empire, in the minor towns, and the demand for wild animals must have necessitated incessant hunts within and without the empire, to provide them for the emperors and private individuals, whether providers of festivals or merchants. These hunts went on for centuries, and the parents had to be killed, in order to capture the whelps; hence, the animal kingdom became wholly transformed, wild animals extirpated and driven into wildernesses, and new ground gained for civilization and agriculture.

Even in Strabo's time the ground between Carthage and the Columns of Hercules had been so far extirpated that the nomads could turn to agriculture; and could defend themselves against them, partly because they were proficient huntsmen, and the Roman passion for *venationes* supported them.

'Oh distant Nasamonian Lands of the Libyans', says a Greek poet, 'your barren plains are no longer visited by flocks of beasts of prey, you no longer tremble at the lion's roaring in the desert; for Caesar has caught a vast number of them, in nets, for one single exhibition, and the former lofty lairs of wild beasts are now pasturages'.

Thus, too, the needs of the Roman amphitheatre relieved the cornfields of Egypt from the ravages of the hippopotami, which were common in Pliny's time above the Praefecture of Sais, and, in the fourth century, had been banished to the upper reaches of Nubia. A writer of the fourth century regrets that there are no more elephants in Libya, or lions in Thessaly, or hippopotami in the swamps of the Nile. Now hippopotami are no longer found even in Nubia, and occur commonly only in the Eastern Sudan and the heart of Africa.

Thus, in antiquity, the hunting-ground in Africa became exhausted; but Asia was still prolific in wild animals, with which the kings and satraps of Persia reinforced their menageries, and supplied those of the Roman Emperors of the fourth century, who laid out their own after the same model. Even in Ammianus' times in the reeds and jungles of Mesopotamia there were 'countless' lions, and in Hyrcania swarms of tigers and other wild animals. At the frontiers of the empire, there was an import tax on all Asiatic products, as on animals intended for spectacles, such as 'Indian (i.e. Asiatic) lions, pards, leopards and panthers'. Symmachus calculates the harbour-tolls on beasts at 2½ per cent., from which senatorial givers of festivals were exempted.

Sporting rights were by Roman law included in the rights of property, for the owner could exclude; but the *jus gentium* made the huntsman the owner of an animal, wherever it fell. But elephants could only belong to the emperors; Aurelian, after the fall of the Republic, was the first private individual to have one of these 'imperial cattle which no subject might own', and this was taken as a fore-token of his sovereignty. Elephants might not be hunted without imperial licence, and lions also, at any rate, in the later Empire. In an Edict of Honorius and Theodosius of 414 A.D., 'a man who kills a lion need not fear indictment, as our subjects' safety must prevail over our pleasure; but, our pleasure still forbids the hunting and selling of lions, though not their killing'. In 271 A.D.

the Marcomanni were invading Italy, and Aurelian offered to supply the Senate with 'royal animals' should the Sibylline books ordain their propitiatory sacrifice; these must have been lions and elephants. There was a special procurator for the department of the imperial elephants.

The wealth of the imperial menageries and gardens in the rarest and most costly animals may be estimated from the catalogue of those at Rome under Gordian III: 32 elephants, 10 elks, 10 tigers, 60 tame lions, 30 tame leopards, 10 hyaenas, 1 rhinoceros, 1 hippopotamus, 10 'arcoleontes (? archileontes)', 10 giraffes, 20 wild asses, 40 wild horses, and countless other animals, all of which Philip devoted to the millenary celebrations of 248 A.D. The administration and upkeep of these menageries involved a large staff, and a large annual outlay: once, when meat was dear, Caligula fed them with criminals; Aurelian sold those used at his triumph to save the fisc the cost of their keep. Besides the imperial menageries (for which purpose the extensive vaults of the Church of San Giovanni e Paolo may in part have served) there were others in Rome. In the third century the Praetorian and City cohorts owned a menagerie, possibly the *vivarium* mentioned by Procopius, near the Praenestine Gate (*porta maggiore*) just outside the wall, near the *amphitheatrum castrense*, which also belonged to them. In the imperial gardens animals may also have been kept, as, for instance, in a park by Nero's Golden House.

Probably the emperors often gave their friends and privileged senators animals for amphitheatrical shows. Symmachus received for his son's Praetorian Games from Honorius, at Stilicho's request, a gift of several leopards. Further, Roman grandees generally owned land in Africa and Asia, and could utilize the friendship of the provincial governors, and thus expedite the importation of animals; but the Republican practice of making contributions of money and wild animals to the spectacles of the procurator's friends a permanent tax on the provincials, had fallen into disuse. The higher Roman officials had come to regard the supplying of wild animals as a trifling and matter-of-course act of friendliness on the part of the provincial procurator, as Cicero's letters when proconsul in Cilicia in 51 B.C. from Marcus Caelius the aedile show. 'Patiscus', Caelius writes, 'has sent Curio ten panthers; it would be a

shame, should Cicero not send more ; he need only issue the commission ; food and transport had been provided '. As a return-favour was exceedingly probable, such requests were not lightly refused.

Thus, thousands of brave huntsmen, year in, year out, ran dangers in every zone, to furnish the demand of the amphitheatre for animals. For one great Roman festival, with due Roman splendour, the Hindu tamed elephants to catch elephants, the Rhinelanders spread nets over the boars in the reeds, Moors on their hardy ponies encircled ostriches in the deserts, and lurked in the horrible solitudes of the Atlas by the lion-pits. Should these perilous ventures succeed, devices for transport called a new industry into being. The axe rang and the saw grated, the anvil grew hot ; and at last the terrible captives vented their rage on the bars of their cages. Claudian in his poem on Stilicho describes a *venatio* given by him. To honour his patron, Diana and all her nymphs hunted in the forests, the wildernesses and the hills of the world, the carpenters had not wood enough to make even all the beams ; and cages had to be made, with box and elm wood still green, and the leaves visible.

Transport was effected mostly by sea, and storms might delay or wreck : there were at the wharves of the Campus Martius in the late Republic cages for the temporary safeguarding of animals. But long trains of heavy ox-wagons loaded with cages also came by land. The huge distances often necessitated voyages of many months, in which the animals might succumb to death or disease. An Edict of Honorius and Theodosius obliges towns through which imperial transports of animals passed to provide for their provision ; probably this only regularized pre-existing practice. This decision led to great abuses, for an edict was issued by these two emperors that no such stay should exceed seven days, for one such train dallied in Hierapolis, the capital of the province of the Euphrates, for three to four months, and the conductors, contrary to all precedent, required cages as well to be supplied.

(*b*). In the amphitheatre the animals were hunted, made to fight one another, and let loose on men ; but some few harmless and rarer sorts were only paraded. They used to be decorated, as though for a sacrifice or procession. At the celebration of the *decennalia* in 263 two hundred tamed animals, variously

bedecked, led the way to the Capitol, and 200 white bulls for the altar with gilded horns, and broad coverlets of coloured silk on their backs, followed by Gallienus himself: and pictures of sacrificial and amphitheatrical animals are preserved, showing them decorated in this fashion. Seneca prefers the lion, terrible in his natural beauty, to one with gilded mane and glittering with plate of gold. Lucilius and Juvenal speak of white-washed bulls brought up to the Capitol, and Pliny of sheep with purple and scarlet fleeces. At the sixth of the twelve performances given by Gordian I as Aedile at Rome, there were 300 ostriches tinged with vermilion, which were, with the rest, abandoned to the people.

The number of the tamed animals in the amphitheatre is as astounding as the skill of their trainers. Plutarch, writing under Vespasian, says that the imperial games of Rome amply exemplified animal intelligence and docility. Under Augustus even, animal-training had so far become a regular profession (practised in Alexandria more than elsewhere), that Manilius ascribed luck in it to one particular constellation. Julius Caesar was escorted home by elephant torch-bearers, and Marcus Aurelius and Cytheris the dancer drove in a chariot drawn by a team of lions. Lions, panthers, bears, boars, wolves, tame and wild, were kept in the palaces of the emperors and nobles. Performing apes who acted plays, drove in chariots, rode on dogs, served to amuse the rabble. Ancient tamers aimed at training animals in directions contrary to their nature. Wild bulls let boys dance on their backs, reared, or, together with horses, performed tricks in water, and, like charioteers, remained motionless in swift two-horsed cars. Stags were bridled, and pards yoked; cranes circled, and fought each other singly. Unwarlike antelopes butted at one another to the death. Sea-lions were trained to greet the people by looking at them, and barked in answer to their names. Lions were as obedient as any dog; in Domitian's spectacl they were set to catch hares in the arena, carry them back to their master in their teeth and let them loose anew. At the command of their dusky teachers elephants knelt, danced to the tune of the cymbals banged by a brother elephant, sat down to table; or four would carry a fifth in a litter like a woman in childbirth; or they would walk a rope and write Greek and Latin. Pliny asserts that one of a troop which was

being trained was a slow learner, and hence was often beaten ; but could be heard by night practising his lessons. The Romans were tender of elephants, and found something human in their docility. At Pompey's games a large number were killed, and the people were indignant and almost turned against Pompey.

And with the exhibitions of performing animals there alternated fights of wild ones : a rhinoceros and an elephant, a bear or a bull, an elephant and a bull and so forth. Natural savagery was artificially heightened. They were driven in to the sound of whips, pricked, hot irons applied, dolls of straw thrown in front of them, which they angrily tossed, or tied together with long ropes, and the people exulted at seeing them rend each other's flesh. Similar, or greater barbarities have excited the popular passion of modern days, e.g., the *Hetzhaus* at Vienna, or at Madrid in 1853 the fight of the bull Señorito with a tiger, when the bull survived.

Also in the Roman amphitheatre, skilled and armed huntsmen with high-class hounds stepped in to fight the savage animals. The hounds were got from the greatest distances ; in Strabo's time, from Britain, then famous for sporting-dogs, which the Gauls used, besides their own, in war even. Symmachus, for his son's quaestorian games, received seven Scottish hounds from Flavianus, which excited the admiration of Rome : it was said they had been brought in iron cages. The hounds were trained for the hunts ; Martial says of a bitch Lydia, belonging to Dexter, that she had been educated by the masters of the amphitheatre. Wearied by the harassing dogs, lions, panthers, bears and bisons fell before the arrows and javelins, in which last Moors and Parthians were especially proficient. Bears were sometimes seen killed by a fortunate blow on the skull, lions blinded by a cloak, and thus easily killed. Carpophorus, a huntsman celebrated by Martial, had laid low twenty savage animals at one exhibition ; had he lived earlier, the poet says, his fame as an exterminator of monsters would have exceeded that of Hercules and all the heroes put together. Bull-fights were popular in Greece and native in Thessaly : under the Empire they were a favourite pastime at Eleusis, Athens, Pergamus, Miletus, Smyrna and Lesbos ; and, after Caesar's introduction of them, they were frequent at Rome : the wild animals were irritated with red rags, and

faced by matadors on foot, on horseback, who, after the Thessalian custom, wearied them out, and then dragged them down by their horns. Claudius made a division of the mounted Praetorians under their officers fight African panthers, and Nero made them fight 400 bears and 300 lions.

But another of the spectacles of the amphitheatre consisted in those frightful executions of men tied to stakes and defenceless, or—to prolong their torture—insufficiently armed and delivered to beasts, who were sometimes specially trained for the work. The victims with limbs torn asunder and covered with blood were seen begging, not for mercy, but delay of death till the morrow. Or their wounds were so huge that curious physicians had an opportunity (e.g. Celsus on Galen's authority) of seeing the interior of the body. And these scenes of horror were episodes on a stage, possibly to lesson the gruesomeness: but modern feeling is doubly shocked at mechanicians and artists being called in to set off and prolong the agonies of the delinquents.

Strabo mentions one of these spectacular executions. Selurus, a robber, called the son of Etna, as he had practised his trade there, had been condemned to death by the beasts: a scaffold was erected on the forum, on which he stood, and foundered, dropping Selurus into the cage, where he was soon devoured. The Flavian Amphitheatre provided most amply for a full theatrical outfit of devices and scenery for the sights. A building near the Colosseum, erected, it may be, by Domitian, contained all the properties for imperial spectacles, and the administration of this *summum choragium* was entrusted to a procurator, who was also possibly appointed by Domitian, a freedman, ranking, however, with the procurators of the smaller provinces. As at Puteoli and Capua (where the amphitheatres were perhaps used for imperial spectacles), the Colosseum was built on huge substructures, twenty-one feet below the present level. Into these underground chambers men, animals and machines could be conveyed unnoticed from the *choragium* by outside entrances, and at the Capuan amphitheatre, which is almost as large as the Flavian, there was room for a thousand men. Apollodorus, the architect, proposed to Hadrian to connect the substructures of his temple of Venus and Rome with those of the amphitheatre, to allow more space for the properties. Thus the whole scenery, and all the actors

and animals, could be suddenly shifted, raised, lowered or made to disappear in the most surprising manner. Roman mechanicians attained very great skill, and could easily lift their scaffoldings and ante-rooms into the air noiselessly, break them up and close them together again. At Severus' games in 202 the arena was transformed into a ship, which all at once broke up, and discovered a mass of the most various animals, bears, lions, panthers, ostriches, and bisons, who instantly assailed one another: during the seven days 700 animals were exhibited and killed. At Nero's performance, described by the poet Calpurnius, the ground repeatedly yawned open, and a magic wood of glittering bushes with fragrant fountains sprang into view, immediately to be inhabited by monsters of foreign climes, who emerged from the depths.

Theatrical and pantomimic performances also took place in the arena; only the actors were condemned criminals, who were practised in real and not illusionary torture. They appeared in precious tunics embroidered with gold and purple mantles with golden crowns; but, like the fatal gifts of Medea, these garments too suddenly burst into flame and consumed their unhappy wearers. Such inflammable stuffs were called by the populace *tunica molesta*, and, when in 64 A.D. the Christians were condemned to death for alleged complicity in burning Rome, they were tarred and resined, and used as torches at night, or wrapt in hides and torn by dogs. Tertullian says men even hired themselves out to run a certain distance in a burning tunic. Perhaps there was no single torture or cruel death known to history or literature, not used to divert the Roman amphitheatre. 'There', says Tertullian, 'we have seen the castration of Atys, and a man burnt alive to represent Hercules' living pyre on Mount Oeta': a Greek epigram records a thief being burnt in this tragic fashion. Martial saw one culprit hold his hand over burning coals to represent Mucius Scaevola, till it was consumed; and a robber Laureolus, the hero of a well-known farce, was crucified and torn asunder by animals. He describes how the limbs slowly dropped off, and the body became shapeless, and consoles himself with the reflection that the sufferer must have been a patricide, a robber of temples, or guilty of arson and murder. And, at the same spectacle, another criminal appeared as Orpheus from the depths, re-emerging from Hades. Nature was enchanted by

his playing, rocks and trees moved to greet him, birds hovered over him and animals crouched at his feet, and, after the spectacle had lasted long enough, he was torn to pieces by a bear.

Besides mythology thus heinously interpreted, there were indecent scenes; Europa or Pasiphae and the bull. Boys, as Cupids, flew up to the awning. And mythology was improved on: Daedalus was devoured by a bear, a Hercules borne up to Heaven on a bull. And then the arena became a lake, in which Leander swam to meet Hero, Nereids assembled in charming groups, and stars shone over the heads of the Dioscuri.

(3) The Naumachiae

Naval fights were also improvised on the flooded arena. As early as 57 or 58 A.D. the amphitheatre built by Nero on the Campus Martius was flooded, fish and larger marine animals set swimming there, and a naval battle between the Athenians and Persians performed, after which the water was let off and gladiatorial combats and a land-fight given on the plain. At a festival in 64 A.D. a battle by land followed one by sea on the same arena, which was again flooded, and a luxurious feast given on the water. The huge cisterns and pipes, by which the arena of the Flavian amphitheatre could be turned into a lake, were ready in 80 A.D., as Titus at the dedication games gave naval performances and a naumachy between Corcyraeans and Corinthians. Domitian also gave a naval battle in the amphitheatre.

But the first naval battle on a large scale was instituted by Julius Caesar at his triumphal games in 46 B.C. He had a lake dug out on the Campus Martius, on which a Tyrian and Egyptian fleet fought against each other. Each consisted of biremes, triremes and quadriremes, with 1,000 marines and 2,000 oarsmen. In 43 the lake was filled in, to prevent an epidemic arising from the exhalations. In 2 B.C., at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor Augustus gave a second great naumachy in a lake dug out on the further bank of the Tiber, probably in Caesar's gardens: according to his own account, it was 1,800 feet long and 1,200 broad: thirty biremes and triremes with beaks, and a larger number of smaller ones, armed with 6,000 soldiers, without reckoning in the rowers, performed a sea-fight between Athenians and Persians.

But both of these naumachies, as all subsequent ones, were surpassed by the one with which in 52 A.D. Claudius celebrated the completion of the conduit from the Lacus Fucinus (Lago di Celano) through the mountains into the Liris (Garigliano), a work which had occupied several years. A Sicilian and Rhodian fleet of triremes and quadriremes, with 19,000 warriors, met each other. A silver Triton dived up from the water, and gave the signal with a trumpet. The lake, so says Tacitus, was surrounded with rafts, to prevent evasions. Yet there was room enough for heavy rowing, adroit steering, attacks and all the ordinary incidents of a sea-fight. On the rafts stood divisions of the Praetorian cohorts mounted and unmounted : breast-works were constructed, whence the surface of the water could be reached with catapults. Marine soldiers occupied the rest of the lake in covered ships. The banks and hills formed a kind of theatre, which was filled with countless multitudes of men from Rome and the neighbourhood, come to see the novelty and greet the Emperor. The Emperor, in a splendid general's mantle with Agrippina near him, presided, dressed in an upper garment woven with gold. The combatants, though criminals, fought bravely, and many wounds secured them remission from death. But, at the close, the water would not flow off, and the channels had to be enlarged. After this reconstruction, in 52 A.D. there were gladiatorial games given, bridges being erected for the purpose of fighting on foot. A banquet was given near the outlet of the water, but the current was too strong and carried away the wooden buildings, and caused a panic.

Nero used Augustus' naumachy for a banquet-room, and Titus at the hundred days' celebration in 80 for brilliant spectacles. On the first day the water was boarded over and a gladiatorial and a beast-fight held ; on the second, a chariot-race ; on the third a sea-fight between the Athenians and the Syracusans, in which the Athenians were victorious, and finally stormed a fortress erected on a little island. A court poet opined that this spectacle eclipsed all others, even the one on Lake Fucinus. Domitian, eager to out-do Titus, gave a naval fight in the arena of the amphitheatre, and also had a new lake dug out, and a naval fight represented with ships approximating to a real fleet in number. During the performance a cloud-burst occurred, but the spectacle had to continue, and the

spectators to remain in their wet clothes; many fell ill and died. Philip the Arabian also, at the celebration of the millenary of Rome, gave a naumachy, on one of the lakes dug by Augustus and Domitian. The *Descriptio Urbis* estimates five naumachies, perhaps erroneously. In the Middle Ages the region between St. Peter's and Sant' Angelo was called *regio naumachiae*, perhaps a tradition of the scene of several naumachies.

SUMMARY

(*a*) The gulf between the thought and feeling of Rome and modernity is best instanced in the attitude of cultured society towards the amphitheatre. In all Roman literature, there is scarcely one note of the deep horror of to-day at these inhuman delights. Generally the gladiatorial games are passed over with indifference. Children played at gladiators, as they do now in Andalusia at bull and matador, or formerly in Rome, brigands and *sbirri*. Adolescence was passionately addicted to the gladiators, who were a staple stopgap even in cultured conversation, and proverbs sprang from the arena. It is madness, says Horace, to dispute whether Castor or Dolichus fight the better; or again, that Maecenas, his supposed intimate friend, deigned to remark in the morning, it was too cold for light clothing, or to ask the time, or whether Gallina, the Thracian, was a match for Syrus. Epictetus reckons among the trivialities of conversation to be avoided, gladiatorial fights. Ovid saw nothing strange in recommending the spectacles of blood as good occasions for love-making. A man, he says, who touches the lady's hand next to him, while asking for the programme, or betting on the result, is often smitten.

The grounds of condemnation are not ours, but the grounds of commendation are our grounds of disapproval. In the adulatory court poets there is no reason for surprise at this. Statius and Martial prostituted their talents to panegyrize Domitian and his spectacles. Martial says that the feats of the beast-fighters out-rivalled those of Hercules. Statius compared female prize-fighters with the Amazons, and the sight of dwarfs hacking one another about, was one for Father Mars and the bloody Goddess of Bravery to laugh over. Also a sense of defiance of Greek culture created some lame and

one-sided apologists; Cicero objected to the crude slaughter, but says, cruel and barbarous as gladiatorial fights may appear to some, and really may be, the sight of criminals fighting for life and death was the most effective training for the eye, though perhaps not for the ear, in the endurance of pain and death. Pliny approves a friend who gave a brilliant exhibition of gladiators with a large number of panthers at Verona in his wife's memory, and Trajan for granting the people this spectacle: 'no enervating and depraving sight, but one that inspired disdain of death and love of honourable wounds, and aroused ambition even in slaves and culprits'. Gibbon rightly calls this 'a vain and cruel prejudice, so nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece and of modern Europe'.

Worse even than these apologies is Cicero's pronouncement on the beast-fights: 'What pleasure can a cultivated man have in seeing a huge animal tear a weak man to pieces, or a splendid animal pierced with a spear?' Varro's phrase in one satire, 'Are ye not barbarians, to throw criminals to the wild beasts?' is out of its context and inconclusive. Marcus Aurelius, who stemmed the bloodshed as much as he could, said in his Meditations that the amphitheatre is wearisome and always the same. Tacitus says, whilst blaming Drusus' (the son of Tiberius) lust in murder, that he was too fond of blood, however cheap. Symmachus, the last of the Romans, characteristically says of the suicide of his captive Saxons in the Gladiatorial School, 'evidently, no guard, however efficient, can restrain this desperate race'. He puts the suicides on the same level with Spartacus and his troop, and resigns himself to the mishap with the self-consolations of Socrates.

Only one extant Roman writer attains the ground of common humanity, and he only in his latter years. Seneca, in a composition of his manhood, calls the gladiatorial games a light distraction, which does not banish grief. But, in his latest writings, he repeatedly is indignant that a man, who should be sacred to man, should be killed for mere sport, and once breaks out at a particularly barbarous exhibition, evidently sincere despite his rhetorical language. Once he went about midday into the amphitheatre. The house was almost empty, and, to amuse the few onlookers, a few unpractised and almost unarmed criminals were forced to kill each other; such a fight would not have interested the general public.

'In comparison', says Seneca, 'all the preceding games were pure mercy. This is sheer butchery. These men are defenceless, and no stroke can fail. Yet the populace prefers this to the regular duels. And why not? Helm and shield, and weapons of defence and a swordsman's skill prevent death. In the morning men are only thrown to lions and bears, but at midday, to their hardest fate, to the spectators. They are whipped into wounding naked bodies. And this much for the intervals, which can be utilized for slaughter'.

This single expression of what is to us a needless commonplace proves that the noblest regarded the games from a standpoint miles apart from ours. The main reasons are three: the division of mankind into those who had rights, and those who had not; the effect of habit and the intoxicating effect of splendour. In ancient Rome down to very late times there was no idea of the rights of man, of the sanctity of life, or of thought for its preservation. International law was almost non-existent; slavery fixed a wide and impassable gulf between those with rights and those without them, and fostered the regarding of slaves by a slave-standard, as negligible, and their sufferings and death as unimportant. The fighters in the arena were public enemies, barbarians, criminals, slaves or ne'er-do-wells, either indifferent or dangerous to society. In rough warlike times Etruria introduced her sport into Rome: at first it was occasional, but, with the centuries, became usual and frequent. The acquired love of brutality was perpetuated from age to age, an irresistible spirit of the time, which can convert original loathing into pleasure, and pervades every individual. And besides, at all epochs, torture and executions have been attractive. In 1787 (according to Tischbein), at a burning of some witches in Palermo the fashionable ladies present had sherbet and ices served.

Lastly, the amphitheatre, apart from the fights, attracted, as the most gigantic spectacle the world has ever seen. In the Empire, nothing could arouse the vision of Rome's past greatness as much as the sight of the people assembled in the Flavian amphitheatre. Contemporaries rightly esteemed it one of the wonders of the world. It stood on eighty mighty arches, rose in four floors to the height of 150 feet and seated 40,000 or 50,000 spectators. The Senators sat on the inmost or lowest row nearest the arena. Here there sat the scions

of the old houses, the dignitaries of the monarchy in their robes, the colleges of priests in their vestments, and the Vestals, and in the middle of this brilliant group, on an open seat or in a gorgeous box, the emperor with his suite. Or some Oriental potentate in high cap and broad gay garments sparkling with jewels, attracted the general gaze, or a German chieftain, in close-fitting dress, excited the admiration and envy of the Roman ladies with his huge stature and blonde hair. For in these rows sat foreign kings and ambassadors, and distinguished prisoners were on such occasions shown to the people. The thousands of the other ranks covered the marble seats, rising in circles above this first row. In them were seen races the most diverse in appearance, colour and costume. All the Roman citizens wore white togas, in honour of the Emperor and the festival. The women's seats were in the upper tiers; only the Vestals and imperial ladies had the privilege of a near view of the scenes of blood. Highest of all were the crowds of the ill-dressed ragged proletariat.

A bird's-eye view revealed this throng in a simple and magnificent unity. The architectural lines were raised into relief with rich and artistic decorations, and the frame was worthy of the mighty picture. A huge awning could be spread over the whole space as a protection against the sun, whose bright colours flooded the interior, as in one of Nero's spectacles it represented the starry sky. And, out of the arena, fragrant fountains threw up jets of water to an immense height and cooled the air, while swelling music drowned the noise of the combat.

Every art thus combined to intoxicate the senses and acclimatize the soul to things wonderful and vast, and to quiet all moral scruples. In a huge excited crowd individual feeling to a certain degree lapses, and resistance is borne down. St. Augustine tells a tale which may well be typical. One of his friends, Alypius, a youth of good manners, was staying at Rome to study law. One day he met some acquaintances, who induced him by friendly insistence to enter the amphitheatre; he, a Christian, said his body might go, but not his soul, for he would keep his eyes shut, and in reality be absent. He did so until one huge cry, at some incident of the fight, struck his ears; and curiosity made him open his eyes; and then his soul, says the writer, received a

severer wound than the body of the man he wished to see, and he fell more pitiably than the man whose fall had aroused the shout. For the sight of blood made him inhuman; he looked on steadily, and was possessed with lust of blood. And what more? He saw, shouted, was fired with passion, and came again, with the enthusiasm for it in his blood.

Spanish bull-fights cannot compare, in point of splendour and excitement, with the shows of the amphitheatre, yet they indicate some measure of the impression produced. The very sight of the *Corrida de Toros* and the throngs in the amphitheatre is said to be overwhelming, though only 9,500 can be accommodated. In 1804 a man like Rist found in bull-fights a new and wonderful charm; the beauty and strength, the craft and fury of the bulls attracted him, as also the 'wonderful charm of a really popular spectacle, unknown elsewhere in Europe'. Prosper Mérimée speaks of the irresistible attraction of bull-fights. He refers to St. Augustine's tale, and confesses that no tragedy ever excited him so much, that he never missed a bull-fight, whilst in Spain, and preferred the bloody ones. Emperor Maximilian of Mexico also was an enthusiastic admirer of bull-fights.

(*b*) Only very slowly and gradually did Christianity succeed in weaning the ancient world from the bloodshed of the arena. Very many Christians frequented it; and their imagination was stirred by it; thus, one of the visions that tempted St. Hilarion in the desert with the desires of the flesh, was a charioteer, who sprang on his back and rode him like a horse, and also a gladiatorial fight, in which one combatant fell at his feet and entreated him to bury him. Constantine on October 1, 326, in an edict dated from Berytus censures the holding of the 'bloody spectacles' in times of peace, and orders convicts to be sent to the mines instead; but this was not intended as a prohibition. For, in a later Epistle to the town of Hispellum (Spello) he accedes to the request that the priests of Umbria should be allowed to continue their scenic and gladiatorial games, but the priests of Tuscany should still hold theirs at Volsinii. Firmicus Maternus, the astrologer (about 350 A.D.) states the constellations under which gladiators and athletes were born, and others, which predetermined them to a horrible death in public view. In 365 a law of Valentinian's forbade the condemnation of Christians to the School of Gladiators. Pru-

dentius vainly besought Honorius to abolish the practice of turning a death sentence into a public amusement, and to allow only beast-fights in the arena; but in 404 the same Emperor prohibited gladiatorial games at Rome, the immediate cause being that an Asiatic monk Telemachus, who had rushed in amid the combatants to separate them, was torn to pieces by the irritated populace. The imperial gladiatorial schools had already been abolished in 399. But in the West the gladiatorial games still lingered on. In 410 St. Augustine speaks of gladiators as still existent. In the East they ceased by 400 A.D.; St. Chrysostom in his sermons constantly reprehends the Circus and Theatre as sinful and injurious, but never mentions the gladiatorial games, which he would certainly have attacked with greater zeal and reason. But he and other Christian teachers fulminate against the beast-fights as inculcating callousness. So, too, presbyter Salvianus of Marseilles complains of the spectacles at which the main delight of the spectators is to see men torn to pieces and devoured by animals, and of the futile trouble of penetrating forests and deserts, the Alps and snow-clad valleys to capture the animals.

The *ludi bestiarii* persisted in both East and West at least into the sixth century. In 469 Leo and Anthemius prohibited the *lacrimabiles venationes* on Sundays. Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, consul in 494, in his MS. of Virgil (now at the Medicean library at Florence) boasts of having instituted stage-plays, chariot-races and *venationes* in the Roman Circus. In 536 Justinian expressly legislated that the consuls were to give *venationes* besides other games. January 1 was devoted to the solemn entry upon office of the new magistrate, the second (called *mappa*) to the games in the Circus, the third to a *venatio*, the fourth to a very popular species of *venatio* called *μονημέριον*, at which the people could enjoy the courage of men fighting animals, and the fifth to very dissolute plays, called *πόρναι*, on which day tragedians and chorus were also seen; on the sixth day there was a second *mappa*; on the seventh the office was solemnly resigned. Two years before, Justinian, writing to the archbishop of Constantinople, complained of clerics not abstaining from this spectacle. At the same epoch, Cassiodorus at Rome was admiring the skill and speed with which the *bestiarii* escaped the

animals, and the many ingenious means of protection, some of which have come down to us on the carved ivory lids of the invitations sent by the consuls: thus at Rome some efforts were being made to make the *venationes* at least a little less bloody.

(*c*) Wherever Roman civilization set its mark, the amphitheatre also spread; from Jerusalem to Seville, from Scotland to the borders of the Sahara any town of consequence had its annual victims of the arena. The yearly magistrates had the choice of games they should give, and would often enough defer to the popular desire for gladiatorial fights. Officials and priests also gave them at their own expense in acknowledgment of the honour, as did rich private individuals anxious to make a show or win the popular favour. In some cities, such as Praeneste, there were special annual *curatores* to administer the communal gladiatorial games or moneys bequeathed for the purpose. Such games were subject to legal restrictions, relaxations of which had to be sought from the Senate or the Emperor. Besides textual information, various monuments, and the ruins of amphitheatres in various provinces give some indication of the extent of the games.

Italy was the most prolific in these games, and still exhibits most ruins of amphitheatres. No town, however small, had not a periodical show of prize-fighters or wild swine and bear-baiting, and the larger the town, the larger its expenditure on popular amusements, on a scale we should consider extravagant. Law restricted the outlay to a reasonable sum (e.g., at Urso to 14,000 sesterces or £152 10*s*.), but custom and public opinion no doubt exacted much more from the officials. At Urso the whole of the games were to last three or four days, but there is evidence to show that in Italian cities gladiatorial games and *venationes* by themselves lasted three or four days. Bulls, stags, hares, wild swine and bears were common enough in the Apennines, and were often hunted; but they also had leopards, panthers and ostriches (called popularly 'oversea sparrows'); and, according to Pliny, in the municipia the *bestiarii* fought in silver armour; this had been one of Caesar's extravagances in Rome one hundred years before. In the smaller or poorer towns three or four pairs fought; in the larger, ten, twenty or thirty. At Pompeii Aulus Clodius Flaccus in his second duumvirate (the highest municipal office)

exhibited thirty pairs of athletes, and five of gladiators on his own account, and, with his colleagues, thirty-five pairs of gladiators, bull-fights, and a chase of boars, bears, and other animals. Further the advertisements of Pompeii tell of five *honoratiores* as institutors of gladiatorial games. One Numerius Festius Ampliatus and his troop is announced as 'the desire of the world'; he appeared there, and probably was an itinerant contractor. In Petronius' romance, Trimalchio's guests converse of a recent combat given by one of the *honoratiores* and of a pending three days' one. In Tiberius' reign the people at Pollentia forcibly prevented the burial of a *primipilaris* until they had extorted money from the heirs for a gladiatorial contest. Martial jibes at a shoemaker at Bononia who gave one, and a fuller at Mutina, and asks where a tavern-keeper is to give one next. In one Italian city a *honoratior* who had held the highest city offices, was honoured with a statue on a chariot, for his generosity in general and particularly for having given eight gladiatorial contests, and Floral games besides, by imperial permission; at the solemn dedication of it, his son, in his father's presence, exhibited thirty pairs of gladiators, and a *venatio*. At Allifae a 'citizen of splendid generosity', when made *duumvir*, gave games of thirty pairs of gladiators, and a *venatio* of African animals, and, during his official year, received a contribution of 13,000 sesterces from the city, gave 'complete' *venationes*, a combat of twenty-one gladiators, and, one year later, theatrical plays at his own expense. Similar facts are often recorded, graven on the pedestals of statues, monuments, and grave-stones, so as to perpetuate the generosity of the giver of the festival; inscriptions show how individuals and municipalities vied in shedding glory on their native city on such occasions. The more murderous, the more splendid they were deemed. On the pedestal of a statue erected in 249 A.D., to a citizen who had held every office, and given magnificent spectacles, we read: 'At Minturnae he let eleven pairs appear and fight, until eleven of Campania's best gladiators remained on the field; he also had ten wild bears hunted to death, as you, noble burgesses, well know'. And on the tombstone of one of the highest civic officials of Peltuinum, his giving a 'three days' gladiatorial fight and four criminals' is recorded, the execution of the latter being regarded as a choice extra. Very

probably, providers of festivals requested the corporations to provide criminals for their gladiators or animals.

In the provinces the amphitheatre was most splendid at the capitals, and organized by the provincial priests who held office for one year, and were, in many respects, the most prominent men. Often, it is clear, they owned their own bands of gladiators, which regularly passed on to their successors. After Italy, Gaul and North Africa possess most amphitheatres; and these two provinces and Spain favoured the sport more than any others. The oldest evidence of the existence of Arles (Arelate) is a gladiatorial token of 63 B.C.; hence, long before Roman literature mentions the town (in Caesar) there were combats there. An inscription at Jérez de la Frontera records a spectacle with twenty pairs of fighters given by an official in honour of the Emperor. In the North there are hardly any stone amphitheatres, and the combats must have been rarer, but only because the poverty and rudeness of the inhabitants, the sparse population and the isolation of the Roman towns hindered the spread of Roman influence.

In Greece, superior civilization at least caused less general acceptance of armed combats than elsewhere; yet even there they proved irresistible. The first proof of this is when King Antiochus Epiphanes gave gladiatorial games for the first time in Syria, and perhaps in Greece. The first impression was disgust, but repetition changed the feeling into approval; at first he only allowed fights up to the point of wounding; later, up to the death of one combatant. Then volunteers engaged themselves for trifling pay. And the close association of Rome with Greece after the conquest rendered easier the introduction of this and other Roman customs into Greece, the centre being Caesar's Roman colony of Corinth. For Corinth was non-Greek in character, and a wealthy port with a large corrupted mob; hence, the games would there be popular, and it is the only town in Greece where (before the second century) an amphitheatre can be traced; its ruins still exist. Athens, too, for jealousy of Corinth, followed suit; and, at the end of the first century, there were only a few places, such as Rhodes, which had not seen gladiators. Plutarch recommends the governors of towns to abolish gladiatorial combats, or, at least, to limit and hamper the demand.

But his complaints of the uneducated rich, who did not disdain even this mode of corrupting the people and gaining honour, shows his counsel to have been a counsel of despair. *Venationes* found an easier introduction, especially as bull-fights were already common. 'Any one who would gain popular favour', says Dio of Prusa, 'must get not only jugglers, actors and athletes, but a wild lion or a hundred bulls, or even, should he desire to please the mob, the unspeakable thing' (gladiators). Hadrian at one spectacle in the Athenian *stadium* had a hundred animals hunted. But, in Greece, only the scum of the people liked the gruesome pleasure; the educated unanimously condemned. Like Plutarch, Dio of Prusa and Lucian express abhorrence of the gladiatorial combats, as barbarous, brutish, murderous, and injurious, as depriving the country of its bravest. A Neo-Pythagorean, a zealot against meat, says that the degeneration of taste infected the other senses, and the eye no longer took pleasure in dances, pictures and statues, but in death and wounds and fights as the most precious spectacle. Demonax, the philosopher, advised the Athenians, before introducing it, to demolish the altar of pity. Julian forbade priests to frequent the theatre and considered they and their sons should abstain from the *venationes*.

Gladiatorial combats found their way far more easily into Asia Minor with its mixed half-Asiatic population, and all the East, except Palestine. In Asia Minor Strabo knew of an amphitheatre at Nysa in Caria, and one at Laodicea on the Lycus was built in 79. Alexandria had one under Augustus.

(*d*) In all parts of the Roman Empire ruins of amphitheatres are found, the most and largest in Italy and Southern France, the fewest in Greece and the Eastern provinces. Their preservation varies with their history. Some fell into disuse in antiquity, after the gladiatorial games ceased, and their masonry was used for other buildings, as at Verona under Gallienus, and in Catania under Theodoric, with his express permission. This manner of destruction lasted all through the Middle Ages and modern times, and accounts for the practical demolition of the greater number. Often, too, in wars and feuds, and in the stormy centuries of the early Middle Ages, they were turned into fortresses, especially by the Arabs.

The defenders fortified them with moats and towers, and rams thundered and arrows and firebrands were directed against the arched entrances, through which surged the gaily-clad crowds of old. Or, in times of peace, poverty crouched by the ancient walls and worked fresh destruction. In many places they became the resorts of prostitution, and in the mouldering arches the dregs of men found clandestine means of crime. Or treasure-seekers dug up the refuse, in the hope of unearthing the remains of ancient wealth; and magicians found a fit place for their craft in the gruesome ruins. Now and again the arena was used for tourneys and ordeals. Or elsewhere the bloodstained ground was ploughed over and the vine and the olive luxuriated on the walls. And new traditions of these ancient sites arose, and peopled them with ghosts and spirits: they were called fairy grottoes. At Pola the amphitheatre is perfect without, and within a ruin; it was said to be the work of a fairy who was to build a palace in one night, and was interrupted at cock-crow. At Bordeaux and Poitiers the amphitheatres are called *palais Gallienne* after a Moorish Princess Galiana, loved (according to an old Spanish legend) by Charlemagne: for her sake he disguised himself and went to Toledo, and overcame his rival at the tourney. An old well near the Tagus is still called *el palacio de Galiana*. Learned tradition connected it with the Emperor Gallienus.

The history of some of these ruins may be traced in outline. When the Franks under Chlodwig in 508 invaded Southern France, the Goths fortified the amphitheatre at Nîmes; dug a deep moat round it, erected two square towers, which were not pulled down till 1809, and quarters for the garrison inside; henceforth it was called *castrum arenarum*. From 720–737 it was a fortress of the Saracens, who were driven out by Charles Martel after a brave resistance. His attempt to burn it down failed. The amphitheatre remained a fortress down to the end of the fourteenth century, and was held by a kind of knightly order, the *milites castri arenarum*. Then, in time, it became the habitation of the poor, its interior filled with hovels, and was for several centuries a *quartier des arènes* with a population of 2,000, who spoke a dialect of their own. In 1533 Francis I visited Nîmes, and was amazed at the remains of antiquity. He knelt down to

decipher the inscriptions, and rubbed off the dust with his handkerchief. The city presented him with a silver model of the amphitheatre, but did not carry out his order to destroy the hovels. In 1809 the arena was cleared. Now the equestrian sports, wrestling-bouts and bull-fights, so popular at Nîmes, are held in it, and it can still seat 15,000. The neighbouring amphitheatre of Arles fared similarly; Henry IV had designed its clearing and the erection of an obelisk found in the bed of the Rhône.

At Fréjus the Saracens who were invading and plundering Provence built a fortified camp in the amphitheatre. The population had left the town after its utter destruction, but gradually came back at the request of the bishops, who administered the Church from the seventh century; the new town was fortified in the tenth century by Bishop Riculph out of dread of the barbarians. The materials were taken from the amphitheatre, which was also destroyed, so as not to afford the Saracens any point of vantage. Thus it became a complete ruin. When Charles V was threatening a siege of Fréjus, (which he did not carry out), the destruction of what still stood erect was part of the scheme of defence. In 1828 it was excavated.

The amphitheatre at Verona was first destroyed in ancient times; some of its stones can be seen in the wall hurriedly erected in defence, when, under Gallienus, a barbarian invasion was apprehended. A description of the town in King Pepin's day calls it the 'labyrinth, out of which one could only find the way with a lamp, or thread'; and Bishop Rather, the 'circus, named the arena'. At this time (tenth century) and later it was used as a fortress, and later for legal and other duels. In 1263 some Visconti had the right to an impost of twenty-five *lire* on every duel fought there, in return for which they kept the ring clear with armed men. In the time of the Scaligers and at other times, great men were beheaded in it. During the fifteenth century it was the home of prostitutes, who paid the city a tax for it. As in all cities where there were amphitheatres, its stones had been removed for building material; but Verona is distinguished by her early care for its preservation. In a Statute of 1228 the *podestà* promises to pay from the communal purse 500 *lire* in his first half year of office for the restoration of the

arena, a large sum in those days; a second Statute, before 1376, orders the arena to be locked and the keys kept by the community, as many crimes was committed in it; any damage to the walls or pollution of the building was to be punished. In 1474 a Statute forbids the removal of stones and steps. But most of the latter had already vanished; in 1480 a poet calls it *gradibus vacua*. In the sixteenth century the restoration began. After 1545 a citizen was periodically elected to supervise the preservation of the ruins; in 1568 money was collected for the restoration of the steps; in 1579 a tax to be raised every fourth year was introduced to provide for restoration, and a quarter of the fines were also to be devoted to this end. Similar resolutions were frequently passed by the Councils of the Twelve and the Fifty. In the seventeenth century two *Presidenti dell' Arena* were nominated. Often, as in 1622 and 1654, tourneys were held in it; as also in the sixteenth century and earlier, e.g., in 1222. In 1716 a tilt at the ring took place in honour of the Elector of Bavaria. Marchese Maffei, the author of the history of his native city, from which we quote, at the end of his book beseeches the noble youth of Verona to use this unique amphitheatre from time to time to exhibit their courage. When Napoleon visited the town in 1805, a dog and bull-fight was performed in the amphitheatre, and 40,000 voices greeted him, a striking incident at such a place. At the Congress of 1820 fireworks or races were held there and the 'police drove up the neighbouring population to fill the huge circle and duly honour the guests'.

But the greatest of these ruins is the Colosseum. Avarice and fanaticism soon stripped it of its decorations, but its walls survived the Empire in their entirety for many a century, and in the eighth century evoked this cry of admiration: 'As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome will stand; when it falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall'. In 1084 the first destruction began, when Robert Guiscard devastated the town between Mons Caelius and the Capitol; internal feuds produced further destruction, when it became in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the fortress of the Frangipani, the leading family of the *regione di Colosseo*, one of the thirteen divisions of Rome. In 1244 Frederick II forced them to resign part to the Annibaldi, who gave refuge to Conradin

in 1268 after the battle of Tagliacozzo. In the beginning of the fourteenth century it came into the power of the People and Senate of Rome, who on September 3, 1332, held a great bull-fight in it. All the barons of the neighbourhood were invited; three noble ladies had the duty of assigning the ladies of the city their places; the names of the fighters, taken by lot, were announced, as well as their colours and mottoes. Eighteen of them remained on the field, nine were wounded, and eleven bulls killed; the bodies of the Paladins who fell were buried with great pomp, attended by the thronged people,in Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni del Laterano. In 1381 the Senate and People presented a third of the Colosseum to the Fraternity of the Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum, in return for their work in restoring order in that region; for the ruin had become a mere robbers' den. The Brotherhood walled up some of the upper arches, and thus made some corridors for a hospital, afterwards united with the Lateran hospital. Native and foreign pilgrims flocked in to kiss the soil of so many martyrdoms, and, out of their alms, a chapel was built on the height of the ancient *podium* and a hermit's dwelling erected beside; above the Chapel was built a walled-in stage, on which every Good Friday a Passion Play was performed, which is mentioned in many documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; under Pius III it was discontinued. Meanwhile the amphitheatre was being steadily stripped for building purposes. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Poggio complained that 'Roman stupidity' had reduced the remains of the Colosseum to ashes. Paul II used the squares of travertine to build the palace of San Marco di Venezia, and Cardinal Riario for the Cancellaria built by Bramante, and Paul III for the Palazzo Farnese. Sixtus V designed erecting a cloth fabric in the Colosseum and workmen's dwellings, but died before carrying out his plan. A concession for holding bull-fights in it was given in 1671 to two competitors for two years; but no one availed himself of it. In the Jubilee of 1675, to prevent further misuse and profanation, the entrance arches were bricked up. In 1727 we read of a licence to the hermit to sell the grass that grew in it. But all measures for its security failed, until Benedict XIV was induced by a murderous assault on the hermit in 1741 to make ampler provision for its preservation. Under

Pius VII restoration began, which, unfortunately, has proceeded with the usual Italian disregard of the style and character of the original.

In 1864 the Colosseum was no longer the building that evoked for Byron the ghosts of the dead who drenched the ground with their blood, flitting about in the moon-lit ruins. The luxuriant greenery on the walls had disappeared, and the modern brick was in staring contrast with the ancient travertine squares. On the top of the walls there were telegraph-wires; and a French sentry stood at the entrance. Two afternoons in every week a Capucine monk preached in the arena to an audience of devout women of the lowest classes, and the walls then re-echoed once more with songs of praise and penance.

III. THE THEATRE

The theatre, the least costly and troublesome of the spectacles, was the most frequent and the least appreciated. From the beginning of the Empire Rome had three permanent theatres, which all together did not seat as many as the amphitheatre. Probably plays were performed in all three at once only very exceptionally; usually the theatre of Pompey sufficed. What with the powerful excitement of circus and arena, the stage could only draw its audience by ignoble means, rough jokes and sensual by-play: thus, far from counteracting the corrupting influences of circus and arena, it heightened them.

Of the types of drama then existing, under the Empire the two lowest prevailed, the *atellana* and the *mimus*. The *atellana* was a sort of Punch and Judy show; it originated in Campania, where it still flourishes, but was early transplanted to Rome: from an improvisation, in Sulla's time it had become literary. A short piece generally in one act was performed by four stock figures or masks, the prototypes of the modern Italian comedy of character. These were Pappus the dotard, now the pantaloon; Dossennus the wise man, now the *dottore*, a schoolmaster or soothsayer; and the glutton and the booby, Bucco and Maccus. Many titles of *atellanae* have come down from earlier times, which indicate the subjects treated: probably the subjects remained the same under the Empire.

There were also travesties of myths, e.g.; the stories of Pentheus, or the supposititious Agamemnon. Or nationalities were brought on the stage, such as 'the Campanians', 'the Transalpine Gauls', 'the soldiers of Pometia', and the city was no doubt much tickled by provincial speech and manners. Still more subjects were drawn from rural life, e.g., 'The Kid, the Sick Boar, the Boar in Health, the Cow, the Poultry-yard, the Vintagers, the Woodcutters'; or the occupations of town, e.g., 'fishermen, painters, criers', and above all the fullers, who played a large part on the Roman stage. Other titles give the four actors in various comic situations, e.g., 'the two Macci; Maccus as an old maid, as a soldier, as a publican, in exile; the two Dossenni, Pappus the farmer, Pappus' bride; Bucco in the gladiatorial school'. Ghosts often appeared as well. This popular comedy was grotesque, full of broad humour and indecent references.

The mime was a loosely constructed character-sketch of common life, as short as the *atellanae*, but without its stock types. Like the *atellana* it was used as an interlude or afterpiece to other plays, and was, in Cicero's time, the more popular; under the Empire the mime is more often specifically mentioned; it was the longest lived species of drama, and survived the Empire of the west, and in the East, in the time of Justinian, had full sway of the stage, as tragedy, music and juggling wearied the public. Surviving titles indicate the same subjects as those of the *atellanae*, but they were drawn from town rather than country life, especially that of the lower classes and artisans; they also represented scenes from foreign life, and, occasionally, mythological incidents. Lentulus and Hostilius' mimes, according to Tertullian, ridiculed the gods; made Anubis an adulterer, and Luna a man; whipped Diana off the stage, read the will of Jupiter deceased, or quizzed the three famishing Hercules. 'Anubis as adulterer' possibly referred to the seduction, in Tiberius' reign, of a noble lady, by a lover in the disguise of Anubis, or something similar. In a mime played on the day of the murder of Caligula, the crucifixion of the famous brigand Laureolus was acted, the flow of blood imitated, and scoffed at by bystanders. In another mime performed in the theatre of Marcellus in the presence of Vespasian, a dog played the principal part, took a narcotic, and slept and awoke regularly, to the general

astonishment. Plays with motives of pettifoggery and demagogy were often represented, but adultery and love affairs were the principal themes. The surprised lover escaped the husband by being trundled away in a box; the husband sent his pretty wife to a dangerous enemy, to purchase safety by her charms, and so forth. Or Fate proved miraculously generous or just, as in modern farces; beggars were suddenly enriched, and rich men, forced to flee, ran across the stage with their cloaks round their head, except their ears, with which they anxiously listened for their pursuers. Abuse and blows, and resounding slaps on the ears of fat-cheeked boobies (*stupidi*) were regular incidents of the horse-play. The language was full of vulgar turns of expression, and the humour coarse, with an abundance of grimaces, scurrilous gestures, and, above all, grotesque dances to the flute. Under the Empire mimes borrowed from the ousted comedies a larger number of actors, and sustained action. But, as before, pieces with easy *dénouements* were common; to terminate the piece, one character, e.g., the detected lover, ran away, the music stopped, and a dance marked the end. The scenery was very simple. The mimes acted in the front of the stage, without the buskin of comedy or mask, in a motley harlequin's dress, with a mantle flung over it; a curtain cut off the back of the stage. Next to the principal actor, on whom the success of the farce depended, ranked the character of the booby or the parasite, distinguished by fat cheeks, bald head, and probably a special costume.

The mime was the most frankly outrageous of the farces in immorality and obscenity. During the Republic this licence was excused by the character of the Games of Flora, at which they were mostly performed; later, this excuse failed them. In the mimes, and nowhere else, female parts were played by women, who would dance at the request of the audience, throwing off their upper garments, and appearing almost naked. Ovid quite rightly objected to his poems being called immoral, when emperor and senate, women, girls, even children went to see mimes, where the one theme was the cuckold, and where eye and ear alike saw and heard indecencies. And the lewdest scenes were the most applauded, and the best paid by the praetors. Martial, too, said that women who went to the mimes need not object to his most

indecent verse: in his eighth book, which was dedicated to the emperor, he restrained his 'mimic licence of speech'. Hence the Christian pulpit unsparingly denounced—probably ineffectively—visits to the theatre. Salvianus asks his Christian readers on their conscience, if, on one and the same day, there be a church festival and a theatrical performance, how many Christians prefer the words of Christ to those of the mime; and yet, the theatre taints the soul, the eye and the ear with unspeakable presentations of immorality. A proof of this licence is afforded in Aelian's characterizing a courtesan of the lowest kind as 'less restrained than an actress in the mimes'. And Procopius' accounts of Theodora's mimic performances give the same impression, if she, who was afterwards Empress of Christian Byzantium, out-shamed the most shameless of Roman dancers. Further, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, female dancers not infrequently performed on the stage and elsewhere absolutely naked.

A speech in defence of the mimes, composed by Choricius, a rhetor under Justinian, shows that in the Eastern Empire of that date, the subject and manner of these farces were essentially the same as they had been in the west. There were scenes of adultery, in which the husband ordered a slave to bring him a sword to kill the adulterer, and then decided it was better to prosecute; or scenes of sodomy, frequently enacted. The indecent songs in these plays were set to easy melodies and heard in every street. Representations of the Trojan War, of fights between Trojans and Myrmidons, must have been travesties. In the mimes the most various personages were represented, masters, slaves, pedlars, sausage-sellers, cooks, hosts, guests, people in commercial relations, stammering children, lovers, hot-tempered young men, and others who appeased them. Some pieces were sensible throughout; husbands were made to incite their wives to continence and good fame, or good and bad soldiers or rhetors were opposed, and the bad ones hissed, the good applauded. The mimes had to have good voices, to know how to dance and look bewitching. Further, the shaven heads of boobies and parasites were regular features, and resounding boxes on the ear were lavishly distributed.

Mimes and *atellanae* were liberally used in Rome for allusions to public affairs and to the Emperors even. Actors and

public came to an understanding; significant passages relating to the present were accentuated, so that there could be no mistake about the meaning; improvisations and gags were inserted, and the certainty of a clamorous reception made actors, and poets even, careless of the risk. But, generally, the emperors found it best to wink at such allusions as far as possible. Julius Caesar even had to tolerate an allusion of Laberius, the writer and actor of mimes, to his *coup d'état*; after his murder, Cicero asked Atticus to report to him the gibes of the mimes and the reception they met with. Once a mime was being performed in Augustus' presence, and the words 'Oh the good and gentle master' were recited; a general burst of applause broke out to interpret the words as an appreciation of the emperor; Augustus received the outburst in stern silence, and on the following day rebuked such flattery by a sharply worded edict. On another occasion, the audience interpreted an inoffensive verse as an allusion to Augustus' effeminacy. During Tiberius' residence at Capri, a passage in an *atellana*, hinting at his debauchery, was received with wild applause. In 22 or 23 A.D., some years before his leaving Rome, Tiberius was induced by the reports of some praetors as to the impudence of the actors, to address to the Senate an intimation they must proceed against the *atellanae*, as the frivolity of the entertainment surpassed the bounds of decency. How this was effected there is no record; historians only mention the banishment of the pantomimes for quite different reasons. Caligula had one composer of *atellanae* burnt alive in the arena for a jest that might have been intended to reflect upon him. After Nero's murder of his mother, one *atellana* actor, Datus, accompanied the words 'Hail, Father, Hail, Mother' with the gestures of a man drinking and swimming, hinting at the poisoning of Claudius and the drowning of Agrippina: Nero was content with banishing him from Italy. Galba was reputed harsh and avaricious; when he entered Rome as Emperor, at the next *atellana*, a well-known choral song was sung, in which the family complained of the return of the old master from the country; the audience joined in and repeated the verse several times. At this epoch this stage licence seemed compatible even with a solemn funeral. At Vespasian's obsequies, the *archimimus* Favor acted Vespasian, and endeavoured to

reproduce his character and language; he was asked what the funeral cost, and answered: 'ten million sesterces, but give me 100,000, and then, if you like, throw me into the Tiber'. Helvidius Priscus the younger was executed by Domitian for turning his *atellana* Paris and Oenone into a satire on the emperor's divorce. Marullus, a writer of mimes, might freely scoff at Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus on the stage, and unmistakable references were made in mimes to the well-known amours of Faustina and the disgraceful life of Commodus; the Emperor Maximinus, who knew no Greek, was publicly insulted in his presence in that language. In the Eastern Empire mimes enjoyed the same licence. Choricius states they freely criticised high officials and the emperors even, and effected, if not the removal of grievances, at least their attempted concealment. Further mimes on the stage not infrequently mimicked great personages. Seneca says of one Hostius Quadra, that he was a man of incessant lewdness on the stage. Vitalis, the mime, says on his gravestone: 'Any one I represented shivered, as though at his double; and many women whom I imitated on the stage blushed and were overcome with confusion'.

The masses then were satisfied with these farces, but the cultured, who desired an artistic drama, were too few to maintain it, since it did not attract the ruder elements. Petronius' Trimalchio says he has bought a troop of comedians, but prefers they should play *atellanae*. Prolific writers of tragedy and comedy (which, at their best, were mere imitations of Greek models) had long ceased to exist: a few stragglers survived to the end of the first century. The last writer of artistic dramas, known to have had his plays acted, was Lucius Pomponius Bassus, the consular, under Claudius; most of the dramas were only intended for the study or *salon*. New mimes were written down to the end of the Empire, on ephemeral topics. The statement that Genesius (who was afterwards martyred) played in a mime under Diocletian, and ridiculed Christian baptism, is quite credible. And what demand there was for artistic drama was fully met by the ancient tragedies and comedies, in more or less modernized forms.

The only Roman comedy (*togata*) recorded as acted under the Empire is Afranius' *Fire* (Incendium); it was played at

a great festival given by Nero, and the actors were allowed the plunder of the real house which was burnt on the stage. Probably this style of comedy remained on the boards. Of artistic dramas, however, the New Comedy of the Greeks (represented chiefly by Menander, and imitated by Plautus and Terence) retained the firmest hold on popular favour. In Rome, in Italy and the provinces, the stock figures of travestied gods, doddering kindly fathers, mawkish sons, cunning slaves, braggarts, whores, etc., delighted audiences for centuries. To keep interest alive in these well-worn plays, known to most of the spectators, at least at Rome, good acting must have been essential. A comedian's training was at the end of the first century, and probably later, a strict tradition, and rhetoricians recommended their pupils to learn their correctness of expression, apt delivery, modulation of the voice, deportment, and the play of eye and hand. One of Marcus Aurelius' first teachers was Geminus, the comedian, and, probably, an all-round education included elocution lessons from a comedian. The studied elegance, which the Ciceronian epoch admired in Roscius, had become old-fashioned and ridiculous a century later: 'a sombre, undecorated piece of antiquity', says Tacitus, 'would have been as intolerable to the audience at judicial proceedings, as the gestures of a Roscius or Ambivius Turpio on the stage'. Acting had become more realistic, but still less so than on the contemporary German stage. Actors took their parts seriously: Quintilian often saw them leave the stage weeping after an affecting scene. The manner of declamation approximated to everyday speech, but was no mere copy; it added style and nobility. Gestures followed an exact school; Quintilian's precise precepts for an orator's gesticulations imply similar conventions for the stage on a larger and sharper scale. The pace of walking was to follow the nature of the rôle, to be slower for youths, old men, soldiers and married women, and quicker for slaves, maid-servants, parasites and fishermen.

In the time of Juvenal and Quintilian the great comedians on the Roman stage were Greeks; Juvenal calls them born actors; Demetrius and Stratocles were the most famous. Quintilian's sketch of both shows how sharply the line was drawn between the licit and illicit, and how keenly any transgression was felt. Demetrius had a splendid voice, great

beauty and a fine figure, and played quiet parts best, such as gods, youths, fathers, wives, and respectable old ladies; in passionate gesture, prolonged and harmonious exclamations he was unrivalled; as also in his skill in inflating his garments by respiration as he walked, and his movements on his right side. Stratocles had a sharper voice, possessed great vivacity and adaptability, could venture on a laugh, out of harmony with his mask, or even shrug his shoulders. He was best as decrepit old men, rascally slaves, parasites and pandars. Both actors allowed themselves to break the rules, not out of ignorance, but in complaisance with popular taste. Further, the best effects of the one would be frightful in the other. Juvenal, besides these two, names Antiochus, and Haemus for his adaptability, as great artists, and mentions as perfect performances the three female characters of the *palliata*—the matron, the courtesan, and the maiden.

Far more than comedy, tragedy found an audience among the educated minority. The nerves of the mass were attuned to the arena, and unaffected even by the most horrid realism. The mimicry of the stage could not affect them, and ideal figures were meaningless shadows; how should they care for Hecuba? But, even in cultured circles, they were few who did not prefer the merry scenes of Plautus, which all seemed drawn from their own actuality, to the fates of the rulers and heroes of primitive Greece. Besides, the costumes made tragedians look like ghosts from a dead world; strange figures in *cothurni*, as though on stilts, padded out, and wrapped in long trailing garments, with lofty wigs, with masks with mouths big enough to swallow the audience: they must have seemed ugly or laughable. Philostratus says that at one town in Baetica the inhabitants had never seen a tragedian; the first one they saw frightened them out of the theatre. Even in the late Republic, magnificence of scenery had become the best or the only means of keeping public attention in a tragedy. Military evolutions of great companies of foot and horse, huge processions, triumphal or otherwise, with all sorts of costly foreign garbs and exhibitions, such as ships, chariots, booty of war, giraffes and white elephants even—the piece lasted four hours or more in consequence—such were the devices that constituted the chief attraction of tragedy, even in the time of Horace. 'Even among the knights',

he says, 'the delight of the ear has degenerated into mere cozening of the eye'. Those who enjoyed an artistic production, came to see, not the play, but the *mise-en-scène*, not the poet, but the actor. Hence dramatic interest lapsed; tragedy was dissolved into a succession of single effective scenes, in which the actors could best exhibit their skill, and the development of the drama was sacrificed, as a matter of indifference to the spectators. True, perfect tragedies, in abridgment, were still acted at Rome and in the provinces (especially the Greek ones), but probably only until the second century, when tragedy was replaced by choric scenes and pantomimic dances.

For music and dancing had of old been essential parts of the stage, Greek or Roman. Pure opera, without any spoken parts, was unknown to antiquity, for iambic dialogue was always spoken. But the composer had almost as large a share as the poet for a great part of the drama. In the dialogue the actor welded together elocution and gesture, but in lyrical monologue, gesture became dance, and elocution song. Hence, either one mode of expression had to be abandoned, or two exponents called into play. In fact, two different artists performed; this proves, better than aught else, how little ancient drama strove after, and how little ancient audiences desired, illusion; the stage never permitted of any false idea that anything real was in progress. The stage, of set purpose, rejected realism; the acting was to be understood and criticised only as a product of art, which not only had no reality, but excluded any notion of it. Certainly, tragedians must always have been skilled singers, and often, if not mostly, have kept their vocal parts, but it also often happened that they played their parts in unspoken pantomimic dance, whilst a singer stood quietly by and spoke the words which should have been theirs. This strange separation of elocution and action seemed quite natural; in Pliny's time poets had their works recited before a large audience by men with a better voice, and accompanied them by 'play of countenance, gesture, and murmurs of applause'.

This severance of song and dance on the stage heralded the dissolution of tragedy into its elements. By the decay of feeling for drama, and the greater appreciation for dance and song, the process was completed; at the close of the

Republic, performances of vocalists, dancers with a flute accompaniment, were given as complete in themselves. At this point only those pieces will be considered which retain some vestige of the dramatic, namely, the pantomimes, and tragedians' recitations, of which the former was connected and self-complete, the latter rhapsodical. We know little of these tragic performances, as they never even approximately had the vogue of the pantomimes on the public stage.

Tragedians, as in the real drama, appeared in masks and full costume. But they practically confined themselves to song, with some action, which, however, remained a secondary feature, unless a full performance were given with a second actor. It is absolutely uncertain, whether this actor, who is sometimes mentioned, stood beside the vocalist; whether the soloists had a choir to accompany them; whether the same tragedian played several parts in succession; whether, and how, the various solos were linked together; whether *mutae personae* completed the representation; whether, and how, spoken dialogues went with the solos. This much only is clear, that the tragedians' solos were the kernel of the performance, and monopolized public attention. This was the drama Nero loved to appear in, relying on his imagined skill as a vocalist. He sang, according to Suetonius, tragic scenes in masks, which, if male, and representing gods and heroes, were made like him, and if female, for goddesses and heroines, like his lady-loves. He sang as *Canace parturiens*, Orestes the matricide, Oedipus blinded, and Hercules mad. It is said that a young soldier, who was standing sentry, whilst he was acting *Hercules Furens*, saw him dressing for the part and being fettered, and rushed in to set him free. It was also observed that, in his last public appearance as an actor, a very famous version of Oedipus in Exile, his song ended with the words: 'My wife, my father, and mother are driving me unto death'. The text is in Greek, and Roman tragedy may often have been in Greek; a foreign language in opera would not disturb the hearers, any more than modern Italian opera outside Italy. In fact, Greek and even other languages were heard on the Roman stage; Caesar and Augustus let 'actors in all languages' appear. At Nero's festival of the *Juvenalia* in 59, 'nobility nor age nor past offices excused any one from appearing as a Greek or Latin actor'. But it is not certain

whether entire Greek dramas were played, which is possible, or semi-dramatic, semi-musical recitals of Greek texts. Further, vocal recitals from tragedies subsisted down to the time of Justinian at least, when they wearied the audience. Choricius mentions scenes from the *Orestes* and the *Medea*, and says a good voice was of far more consequence in a tragedian than in a mime.

Pantomimic performances on the stage attained to far greater significance. Pantomimic action had long been regarded as a more important means of representation than recitation and song, for, in the drama, the actor, having to renounce either acting or singing, left the singing to the vocalist who did not act, and expressed the meaning of the poetry himself. As masks were worn, play of countenance had to be effected by action; and the use of gesture was ampler, finer, more cultivated and vivid than to-day, as numerous references prove, and the livelier gesticulations of Southerners. And in the cosmopolitan population of Rome, this form of language was universally comprehensible, and hence was favoured by the stage, which it soon monopolized.

Dramatic dance was developed into an independent art under Augustus about 22 B.C. by Pylades, the Cilician, and Bathyllus of Alexandria. Their most famous rivals were Nomius the Syrian, Hylas the Carian from Salmacis, Pierus of Tibur and one Gaius Theoros, who, in an inscription recently unearthed, is called 'the light and conqueror of the pantomimes, who enchanted even the God (the Emperor); how should men hesitate to follow the god?' This new specialization was restricted to tragedy; the pantomime replaced expiring tragedy, and comic pantomime fell into disuse. The practice was to link together the sensational moments in a series of lyrical solos, acted by a single pantomime, who acted several parts in succession, male and female, whilst the text was sung, not as in the drama by a single vocalist, but by a chorus. The text-books of pantomimes sometimes were original, but more often adaptations from Roman and Greek literature. Great poets even condescended to write such *fabulae salticae*; Lucan is said to have written fourteen. The pantomimes paid liberally for them. Statius received nothing but praise for his Thebaïs, but a large sum for selling an unknown text for an Agave to Paris, the celebrated dancer. Generally,

however, and probably rightly, such texts were regarded as worthless. Plutarch says that dancing was associated with second-rate poetry only, and therefore held sway in senseless, uncritical theatres, but was spurned by all intellectual and lofty-minded men. The subjects, being borrowed from tragedy, were nearly all mythological, very seldom historical. True, Lucian says the history of the world from the beginning down to the death of Cleopatra—a limit no poet under the Empire might transgress—was grist for the pantomime; but the tragedy of Polycrates and his daughter, and Seleucus' passion for Stratonice, his son's bride, are the only historical subjects he mentions, excepting the death of Cleopatra; no such subjects are mentioned elsewhere, whilst the number of the mythological known is very great. A few themes were taken from Roman legend, from Virgil a Turnus, in which Nero was to appear, and a Dido pantomime (also after Virgil), popular on the stage as late as Macrobius, and a few from Egypt, such as the story of Osiris, and the Transformation of the Gods; but Greece was the source of nearly all the legends, some of which may have been first dramatized in this form. Subjects of deep tragedy were utilized, such as Atreus and Thyestes, Ajax, and Hercules *furens*, Niobe, Hector. But the favourite selections were love-stories, some of doubtful morality, from the divine cycle, the adventures of Jupiter, Venus and Adonis, Venus and Mars enmeshed by Vulcan, Apollo and Daphne, and so forth; or from the heroic tales, Phaedra and Hippolytus, Meleager and Atalanta, Protesilaus and Laodamia, Jason and Medea, Achilles at Scyrus, Achilles and Briseis, Ariadne at Naxos, Pasiphae, Cinyras and Myrrha; Cinyras and Myrrha was acted at the feast given by Caligula on the day of his murder, and the abundant blood that fell from the suicide hero was taken as an omen of the Emperor's fall. Such subjects, during the whole of the Empire, were acted by pantomimes on every stage, and drew the best audiences.

The *libretto* of pantomimes was derived from tragedy, or was in form tragic, but unity of place must have been preserved, and no change of scene made necessary; at least, there is no mention of such a change or other scenery, which must have been as simple as in tragedy. The choir, besides singing the text, may have sung in the intervals, as the performance, like the *récitative* in a modern oratorio, must have had some

continuous story, and thus the dancers would have had time to change mask and costume. Pylades in 22 B.C. introduced a chorus in the stead of the single tragic vocalist, and a rich orchestral accompaniment in place of the simple flutes. In reply to a question what his novelty consisted in, he quoted from Homer: 'Αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὅμαδόν τ' ἀνθρώπων' ('the sound of flutes and pipes and the turmoil of men'). In this orchestra there were flutes and σύριγγες and cymbals, *citharae* and lyres, and time was kept by a *scabellum*, an instrument consisting of two plates bound together and attached to the sole of the foot, which were clanged together at the start. The music was of course also intended as a guide to the dancer's movements. This kind of music was no better than the usual texts; it was full of noise and trills, effeminate, undignified and unrestrained, intended to please the vulgar ear; and the more earnest connoisseurs thought the rule of the pantomime on the stage spelt the decay of music.

The increasing subordination of music and song to dance meant the increasing monopolization by the pantomime of all the interest. The dance might be made intelligible by the chorus, but the aim of the new kind of drama was to make dumb show self-sufficient, a task all the harder when a pantomime in the same piece had to play many various parts. He appeared, for instance, first as Athamas *furens*, and then as Ino the cowed; first as Atreus, and then as Thyestes, Aegisthus or Aërope, or as Bacchus, Cadmus, Pentheus, Agave, or as Hercules, Venus and Cybele in succession. He then had to act, so as to impress the imagination with an idea of the whole, and of the other characters, and their relations to the part he was playing; thus, whilst acting Achilles he had to suggest Paris, or Vulcan when acting Prometheus, or Jupiter, when portraying Ganymede. Demetrius, the Cynic philosopher, who lived under Nero, once spoke slightingly of the pantomimes, as being ineffective without chorus and music, but the principal pantomime of Rome at that time, probably Paris, convinced him to the contrary, by dancing before him the adultery of Venus and Mars. His dumb show so effectually expressed the sun-god informing the deceived husband, the device of Vulcan and the invisible fetters, Venus' shame, Mars' entreaties, and all the other gods summoned by Vulcan, that the philosopher admiringly admitted his error. In the

Achilles at Scyros the artist acted the maidens spinning and weaving, Achilles in a woman's garb amongst them, made his audience see Odysseus enter, and hear Diomede blow the trumpet, all unseen and unheard ; and in Achilles before the walls of Troy, made them see him hurling his lance in the turmoil, killing, fighting Hector and dragging his corpse, the fall of Troy, the death of Priam, the combats of Theseus, the labours of Hercules, and even the fight of the Centaurs and the Lapithae. 'A skilled actor', says Manilius, 'will dance every turn of fate into reality ; his gesticulation will follow the songs of the chorus ; and produce an illusion of seeing Troy and the fall of Priam'. Nonnus describes a contest in pantomimic dance between Bacchus' two companions, Silenus and Maro, and reproduces his impression of the stage. The subject of Silenus' dance is the contest between Aristaeus and Bacchus, to see which of them can provide the gods with the better liquor. Maro 'with silent hands' represents Ganymede handing the Gods nectar, and also Hebe 'in significant silence' filling the cups. Zeus is sitting as judge, Eros in the middle with the prizes, twigs of ivy and olive, in his hands. First, Aristaeus gives all the gods honey, but at the third cup they have had enough and refuse the fourth. Then Bacchus hands each of them a glass of wine, to Zeus first, then to Hera, then to Poseidon, and so to all in order ; all are exultant, except Apollo, the father of Aristaeus, who is depressed. And the more they drink, the more they ask for, and joyously award Bacchus the prize ; and Eros, half-drunk, crowns him with the vine-clad ivy. Cassiodorus, too, relates how the pantomime's hand expounds the song of the chorus for the eyes of the spectators, who can read the tale as if in writing. The same body can be Hercules and Venus, man and woman, a king or a soldier, a youth or an old man ; the actor seems to embody many persons at once.

Pantomimes regularly changed mask and costume for every new part in the same piece, except in one special branch of the art, the robe or cloak dance, in which every new rôle was signalized by a rearrangement of the same cloak, to represent, for example, 'a swan's tail, the hair of Venus Anadyomene, the scourge of a Fury', and so forth. This species of dance is very like the mimo-plastic acting of Mme. Händel-Schütz and of Emma Harte, the mistress of Hamilton, as described by

Goethe, and, probably, was a very exceptional exhibition of great skill.

Pantomimic art, capable of performing such tasks, is the more remarkable when we remember that the single dancer had no *mutae personae* beside him to represent other characters. But, had not ancient art and stage-craft made far greater demands on the spectator's imagination than the modern, such performances would have been incomprehensible. Further, under Augustus, occasionally two pantomimes appeared at once, each performing an independent part, but, whether this occurred on the stage is doubtful: at any rate, it is never again mentioned.

The pantomimic dance was not a dance in the modern acceptation; it consisted in expressive and rhythmic movements of head and hand, natural movements of the body, bendings and turns and even leaps. Nomius the Syrian, a rival of Pylades and Bathyllus, was censured for the slow movements of his hands, while his feet stirred too fast. Galen says that the strenuous exertions of dancers, the high leaps, quick turns, cowerings, and jerks, contraction and stretching out of the legs, like all violent exercise, strengthen the body. But such motions took place after the pantomimic dance proper, according to Nonnus, whose Silenus leaps up on one foot and then on both, stands on his right foot, and lifts his left up to his breast and shoulder, bends it round his back up to his neck, whirls round, bent over backwards, so fast that his head seems to circle on the ground. But this does not take place until he has concluded his clever pantomimic display with the hands.

This manual language, a common language, as Quintilian says, in the variety of human speech, evidently was richer in antiquity in significant and generally intelligible gestures than the gesticulations of modern Southerners. 'We admire professional dancers', says Seneca, 'because their hands represent every incident and feeling, and their gestures flow as fast as words'. Each new position of hand and finger expressed something fresh, and this 'eloquence of dance' was, no doubt, improved, refined and enlarged in the centuries of practice. Greek enthusiasts pretended that 'philosophic' dancers, Neopythagorean in their silence, were more eloquent than rhetors lecturing. But, of course, the hand was aided

by other supplementary movements. Mars, in Nonnus, dances 'eloquently silent with speechless hand: glancing on all sides; weaving a picture of speeches with his artistic rhythms, swinging his head; and he would shake his locks—were he not bald'. Thoughtful artists sought to express, through movement, the sense, rather than the words, and disdained to signify illness by feeling the pulse, or the *cithara* by a semblance of striking strings. Once Hylas, in a rehearsal, or at the school, expressed the words, 'Great Agamemnon' by standing tip-toe; his teacher, Pylades, reproved him, for making him tall, and not great, and, whilst speaking, took up an attitude of contemplation. Throughout all ancient art tradition was far more constant than in modern times, and acted as a corrective against mistakes, and foolish attempts at originality; and, in the pantomime, this same rule made acting easier to the artist, and to the onlooker, more intelligible. Lucian tells of one pantomime, who, when acting Kronos devouring his children, represented the banquet of Thyestes, and of another, who was performing the fiery death of Semele, but gave the idea of Glauke being consumed by Medea's venomed bridal dress. Such a confusion of rôles is unthinkable without a firm tradition for each part, and a quick perception of it by the audience. All descriptions confirm such a fine characterization in the better artists. Pylades was dissatisfied with one performance of the Blind Oedipus by Hylas, since he moved as though he saw. In affecting scenes pantomimes seemed to feel the sorrow of their characters and frequently moved the spectators to tears. 'Effeminate dancers', a Christian writer exclaims, 'inspire their simulated passion, cast aspersions on your gods, by representing them as lustful, sighing or full of hatred: their false pain and idle gestures call forth your tears'.

But, although the best actors owed their success to a representation achieved with much thought and grace and art, the charm they exercised on their audience was largely sensuous. Splendid bright garments with many folds, and a mask without the ugly tragic mouth-piece, enhanced the indispensable beauty of form; according to Lucian, Polycletus' rule should be incarnate in the pantomime. The spectators never spared defects of outward appearance. A little dancer who was acting Hector at Antioch was asked: 'Where is Hector? This

is Astyanax'; and a tall man preparing to scale the walls of Thebes as Capaneus was told, 'Climb over: you do not need a ladder'; a fat man, trying to do some high leaps, was told to 'spare the stage', and a lean man was wished better health. Antiquity required long curly locks in youthful beauty, and this was seldom absent. No doubt the art of the toilette was often called in to supplement Nature. Galen gives a recipe of a good depilatory, ascribed to Paris, a pantomime and favourite of Lucius Verus.

Incessant training and careful diet, especially abstention from rich food, secured the pantomimes full command of their bodies, and a pliability, elasticity and readiness, by means of which every movement could be graceful, elegant and effeminate. These qualities made them especially successful in feminine rôles, in which they almost lost their sex. Apuleius says of his step-son's father-in-law, whom he reproaches for vice and lust of all kinds, that he was so pliable in his youth, as a pantomime, that he seemed to have no thews and sinews, but his acting was untrained and inartistic. In the lewd scenes, which were the spice of this drama, seductive grace combined with luxury and shamelessness knew no limits. When Bathyllus, a beautiful boy, was dancing Leda, the most impudent actress of mimes felt like a mere country novice on seeing such mastership in the art of refined sensuality.

Pantomimes were generally accused of immorality and evil influence, and their most zealous protagonists could not rebut the imputation. Even young men naturally austere avoided them. Ummidia Quadratilla (who died in 107 A.D. almost eighty years old) owned pantomimes, in whom her interest was keener than it should have been in a lady of her rank. Her grandson, a severely moral young man, never saw them either on the stage or at her house. She sent him away when she wished to enjoy their performances, as much from respect as from affection for him, according to Pliny the Younger. It might have been presumed that the pantomimes essentially contributed to the demoralization of women, who were passionately addicted to the spectacles, even without Juvenal's lurid description. Julian, who abandoned the idea of the purification of theatrical performances as impossible, required the priests to abstain from seeing or receiving actors or pantomimes. Zosimus, one of the last heathen historians

of the Empire, read into Augustus' introduction of pantomimes, at the beginning of the monarchy, the beginning of a general moral decay of the world. St. Augustine, on the other hand, ascribes the invention of pantomimes to the far-seeing guile of the devils, who sent this more destructive plague, which they loved, into the world, to replace the Circus, when the world should grow weary of it.

There were two main classes of pantomime, ascribed to the two first artists, Bathyllus and Pylades. Pylades, who also wrote on his art, was the founder of tragic pantomime, Bathyllus introduced a simpler, merry species, allied to the burlesque κόρδαξ of the Greek and the older comedy: the subjects were lascivious travesties of the myths of the gods, as were found in the Old and the Middle Comedy, and also direct parodies of Tragedy. Echo, Pan, a Satyr inflamed by Eros were the favourite parts of Bathyllus, who had as little aptitude for the pathetic and solemn pantomimes of Pylades with their many characters, as Pylades had for lighter dance. As Bacchus, Pylades entranced the spectators most of all; he seemed, says a Greek poet, the god re-incarnate on earth; or, according to another writer, had Bathyllus then ascended to Olympus, Juno would have acknowledged him her son. As *Hercules Furens*, he is said to have exaggerated the madness of the hero. At Pompeii, there is an inscription of one of the highest officials, who was giving for a festival of Apollo, spectacles with every kind of music and recitations (*acroamata*) 'with all the pantomimes and Pylades': hence he seems to have toured through the cities of Italy, no doubt for a high fee. Both artists founded schools, and later exponents of the art took their names, a habit common among artists of the time. Bathyllus' school maintained its ground, as late as Plutarch at least, but was early thrust into the background by the followers of Pylades, who soon had absolute control of the stage: Lucian in his exhaustive essay περὶ ὀρχήσεως (On Dancing) only mentions the tragical variety.

The pantomime was not the only orchestral performance on the Roman stage. Not only songs occurring in tragedy were acted by pantomimes or accompanied by pantomimic dances, but other poems were also set to music, and the singers might be their own accompanists. Ovid's poems were thus acted, though not intended for the theatre, and his exile was

cheered by news of the success of his poems danced on the stage: thus, to the irritation of more austere critics, panegyrics on the Emperors were sung on the stage to effeminate dances, and actors who aimed at a nerveless overdelicacy of expression, boasted that their speeches could be sung and danced. A kind of ballet, an interlude called *embolium*, was in whole or in part danced by women.

Besides the pantomime, only one other stage-dance is at all known, the Greek Pyrrhic. The name signifies a Doric war-dance, which survived late at Sparta: under the Empire there were several species of the Pyrrhic, of which the best was practised in Ionia and other provinces of Asia Minor, and there publicly performed at festivals by children of the noblest houses. Such boys were often summoned by the emperors to Rome, and, after their performance, granted the *civitas*: but slaves, and imperial slaves especially, were also trained in it. Possibly, there were Pyrrhics to be danced by boys only, and by boys and girls together; the latter, probably, only by slaves or professional dancers. The Pyrrhic dancers appeared with wreaths, and in gorgeous gold-embroidered tunics, and purple or scarlet cloaks. New groupings, involutions and disentanglements followed one another; they formed circles, rows, disorderly masses, and squares. There were also mock fights with wooden weapons between dancers of the two sexes, but chiefly dances of a Bacchic or similar nature. The dancers acted the parts of Titans, satyrs, corybants, shepherds, and as bacchants brandished *thyrsi* and torches. These dances might easily be made dramatic, to represent the adventures of Dionysus in India or the story of Pentheus: but other myths were also chosen, e.g., at one festival of Nero's the story of Pasiphae was performed in the amphitheatre as a Pyrrhic: on that occasion Icarus fell down from a flying-machine, and sprinkled Nero with his blood.

Apuleius, evidently as an eye-witness, describes such a mythological Pyrrhic at a festival in Roman Corinth: it seems very much like a modern ballet. It was preceded by a simple Pyrrhic. The staging consisted of a lofty wooden Mount Ida, planted with live trees and bushes, with descending streams; and Paris, a beautiful boy in a barbaric dress and a golden tiara, is herding some goats. Mercury, a beautiful fair boy, with only a chlamys on, and staff and caduceus in hand, and

golden wings on his head, enters dancing, and hands Paris a golden apple, telling Jupiter's command by gestures. Then Juno steps in, a fine woman with diadem and sceptre, and Minerva rushes in after her, with a bright helmet, wreathed in olives, swinging her shield and lance ; and last, Venus, naked, save for a transparent blue silken pallium round her hips. Juno, who is attended by Castor and Pollux, first expresses by dance to the flutist's accompaniment her bribe of sovereignty over Asia. Minerva, attended by the daemons of terror and fear, who dance a sword dance naked, promises in wild rhythmic steps, set to a warlike Doric measure, a warrior's renown. Lastly Venus, amid loud applause, steps on to the middle of the stage, with a troop of Cupids with wings, bows, and torches, and of maidens who represent the Graces and the Hours. The flutes play a soft Lydian measure, to which Venus dances a seductive dance ('sometimes seeming to dance only with her eyes') and promises Paris the fairest lady on earth. He hands her the golden apple : Juno and Minerva express anger and scorn as they go off, and Venus and her train perform a last triumphal dance. Then from the top of Ida a fountain of crocus and wine springs up high, fills the theatre with fragrance ; and the mountain sinks out of sight.

But the pantomime found more favour on the stage under the Empire than any other kind of dance or play. The extent to which it superseded all others, is shown in that the word *histrio* ('actor') came to mean specially a dancer. Philostratus, writing under Commodus, says this was the usual form of play, eagerly visited by senators and knights. But this preference for the pantomimes is least marked at the bottom of the social scale. The lower classes enjoyed the coarse obscenities and farces of the mimes, which the lovers of pantomime despised. For pantomime demanded a certain measure of knowledge of mythology and a very great sensibility to the fine points of acting : and was best fitted to reanimate nerves exhausted with pleasure. In the higher society of Rome the passion for pantomime spread : Seneca the Elder speaks of this 'disease' ; according to Tacitus it was one of the congenital evils of birth in Rome : women were the most subject to it. Public exhibitions were too few to satisfy its lovers ; and even in the Early Empire every great house included in its slaves and freedmen pantomimes and other stage-dancers

of both sexes; and some female pantomimes were so much the favourites of their masters that they received a million sesterces as dowry.

In 15 A.D. the Senate decreed that pantomimes might only be seen publicly, but this soon became a dead letter: Domitian forbade a public appearance and expressly permitted their performances in private houses. Such a general infatuation necessarily led to dilettantism in dancing, however opposed to Roman ideas of decorum. Even in the late Republic, this dilettantism was so common that men of noble birth and high position were scoffed at for their love of dancing and their skill in it. Such were Cicero's friends, Marcus Caelius Rufus and Publius Licinius Crassus, the son of the triumvir, and his opponent Aulus Gabinius (consul in 58 B.C.): Gabinius' house, says Cicero, re-echoed with cymbals and songs, and he even went so far as to dance before his guests without his upper garment. Lucius Afranius (consul in 60) is said to have been a better dancer than statesman. Under Augustus good dancing was essential in society, and the cultured in reality or semblance strove after proficiency in it. Ovid advises the lover at a feast, where he is with his lady, to dance with her, if his arms be flexible; an importunate man, who is worrying Horace for an introduction to Maecenas, recommends himself as a good dancer. Manilius reckons a genius for dancing, the art of song and the lyre among the accomplishments of the merry spirits who prevail by grace and delicacy. Soon complaints arose that these unmanning and unseemly exercises injured the more serious studies of youth. Caligula's passion for dancing increased this dilettantism. Good teachers of dancing and music were in great request; and, though they were mostly freedmen foreigners, under Augustus a Roman citizen for the first time gave instruction in dancing. Seneca says that the art of Pylades and Bathyllus found numerous teachers, and that nearly every private house had its stage, which echoed to the feet of men and women. And for subsequent times there are many proofs of the continuance of the passion: Lucian states that a dancing-master was a regular part of the personnel of a great house. And, although for eminent men to dance was always considered unsuitable and indecorous, some of the emperors even are said to have been skilled performers.

This lofty patronage by rank and rulers of stage-plays affected the social, if not the legal position of actors. Civil *infamia* was still the lot of all who performed in public for the amusement of the people, as it was of a soldier dismissed in disgrace, the pandar, the convicted thief, the swindler or calumniator. Diocletian apparently was the first to pronounce that minors who went on the stage should not become 'infamous'. Disability from any office attached to actors in the *municipia* and the provinces. With the son or daughter of an actor or actress the agnate grand-children and great-grand-children could not contract a valid marriage. A husband who detected an actor in his own house in adultery with his wife, might kill him legally, like his own slave or freedman. A soldier who went on the stage was punished capitally as though he had sold himself into slavery. Officials used to be entitled to flog actors arbitrarily: Augustus restricted the right to the time of duration of the plays and the limits of the theatre: and thus the law remained. Further, Augustus was relentless against actors who offended against morality. He had the comedian Stephanio whipped in three theatres at Rome and banished him, for having relations with a married woman, who had waited for him dressed as a boy with clipped hair. Hylas the pantomime was on a praetor's report publicly flogged in the *atrium* of his house; and even the famous Pylades was banished from Italy for pointing his finger at a spectator who hissed him.

Naturally, an infamous profession would generally be entered on only by slaves and freedmen, or free men from countries which did not feel the Roman prejudice, namely, Greeks, Asiatics and Egyptians, a circumstance which did not enhance an actor's reputation. Further, even in Greece, they were none too well spoken of. Gellius tells of a pupil of Taurus the philosopher, a rich young man, who liked the company of tragedians, comedians and flute-players, and notes for his Roman readers that these were free men. Taurus recommended him to cease this intercourse, to read an extract from Aristotle every day: for Aristotle ascribed the immorality of most Dionysian actors to the fact that their art withdrew them from philosophy, and that they alternated between misery and debauchery—both roads to ruin. At Rome, under the Empire, pantomimes, comedians, tragedians and actors were

part of a great household, singly or in troops: for a tragedy not only three actors were required, but *mutae personae* were also needed: hence Martial can speak of a troop of young comedians who were all so charming that none would do for Menander's 'Hated Man', but any of them for his 'Twice Deceiver'. The imperial household had the best and the largest number. Actors, like slaves, were transferable by bequest, gift, or sale, and served to entertain their master and his guests at table: they were also used for public exhibitions, let out and hired, and were a good investment, after their education had been paid for. Friends and flatterers never missed the theatre, and zealously applauded if the great man's slaves were acting. Often their skill earned the slaves their manumission, or the public interceded for them. But, at manumission, they pledged themselves to serve their patron on certain conditions, to hire themselves to him, and to appear without any fee at any play of his or his friends.

But, in spite of this general disrepute, some few pre-eminent actors attained very high positions. Under the Republic, Roscius and Aesop had thus risen; both amassed great wealth, and Roscius was granted the golden ring by Sulla, as was Herennius Gallus by the Younger Balbus, when Quaestor at Gades. And at a time when plays had far more importance, and Greek manners and thought had diminished the prejudice against actors, whilst the upper classes were infatuated with the stage, great talent found the road easier to great position. The difference between the position of a great and a humble actor was much greater than now. Many an Agamemnon or Creon, magnificent on the stage, and decked with purple, lived on a monthly ration of bread, receiving some small pay, if well received, or even whipped, if hissed (as often happened). For, even in Cicero's time, the public was sharp enough to detect any false note, any fault of time or rhythm in delivery and gesture, and manifested its disapproval in hisses, stamping and outcry. But the few sovereigns of the stage moved in the highest society, were wealthy and influential, and saw nobles and noble ladies striving to gain their favour. 'Comedians and pantomimes', says Plutarch, 'who succeed on the stage, are admired and envied by free men and even by the nobly born'.

Naturally, prominent actors were awarded recognition and

honour by their colleagues: they used to hold the offices of honour and the priesthoods in the societies and guilds of actors, especially the so-called sacred synods. And the cities where they acted lavished on them inscriptions, statues, and even municipal distinctions. Roman towns were less generous in this respect than Greek cities, which squandered their franchises on travelling actors, as Cicero says of Rhegium, Locri, Naples and Tarentum. Yet the 'most famous, cities of Italy' were not ashamed to confer the *insignia* of *decurio*, *duumvir* or even higher honours, such as the augurate, on a pantomime who could arrogate the conventional title of the 'first of his time'. In the little town of Bovillae, a director of a troop of mimes, who was both a comedian and a tragedian, was made *decurio*, despite the legal disability of actors to hold city offices, and at the solemn inauguration of a statue set up to him by the Guild of Mimes in 169 he distributed largesse to all the inhabitants.

Famous actors received high fees for performances (in 15 A.D. a legal limitation was found necessary), and also gifts from the providers of festivals, who vied with each other in ostentatious generosity; their extravagance had to be restricted by law: Marcus Aurelius decreed a maximum of ten pieces of gold for such gifts: but such legislation must have failed. The prizes of the victors in the actors' competitions were also in money or valuables, golden wreaths—or copper wreaths stained with ox-gall. Vespasian at the spectacles at the rededication of the theatre of Marcellus, gave every single actor as much as 40,000 sesterces, a number of golden crowns, and to Apollinaris the tragedian 400,000. The favourites to whom Nero is said by Plutarch and Suetonius to have dispensed 2,200 million sesterces (about £23,925,000), were all actors and athletes. Galba demanded the return of nine-tenths of this sum: most of it must have gone to the actors. Hence actors, if popular and famous, amassed great wealth. Pylades accumulated so much, that in his old age (2 B.C.) he himself provided spectacles at Rome: a later Pylades, who lived under Commodus, is famous for having given at Puteoli gladiatorial games and *venationes* on a very large scale. Pliny the Elder says that the highest price (700,000 sesterces) recorded for a slave, Daphnis the grammarian, was easily surpassed by the annual income of a pantomime who had purchased his freedom,

probably referring to Paris. Vitalis, the mime, on his tombstone states that his art brought him fame throughout Rome, reputation, a stately home and wealth. At Constantinople prominent actors earned large sums: according to Choricius, the mimes with universal fame went about in costly clothing, had well-filled pockets, silver plate and numerous slaves.

As already said, the most famous actors often belonged to the imperial household, and thus enjoyed general respect, and, the pantomimes especially, the favour of the emperors and empresses. For some time Apelles the tragedian found favour in the eyes of Caligula, and after his death, Mnester, the beautiful pantomime, whom he passionately loved: Mnester also was a forced lover of Messalina, who withdrew him from the theatre and had the coins of Caligula melted down to mould statues in his honour: he and she were executed together in 48 A.D. Paris, the pantomime, was the boon companion of Nero's debaucheries, and stood so high in his favour that he not only ventured to accuse the empress-mother, but escaped the punishment meted out by her to her other accusers. He demanded back from Domitia, the paternal aunt of the emperor, the sum of 10,000 sesterces which he had paid for his manumission, on the plea that she had not legally owned him; and the emperor's intervention won him his case (56 A.D.). Eleven years later (67 A.D.) Nero had him executed, as he himself, desiring to excel in the art of dancing, feared a rival in his former teacher. Amongst Domitian's favourites was Latinus the mime; another pantomime, the most famous of his time, who called himself Paris, after the stage convention, had relations with Domitia the empress, and was executed; and rumour connected the murder of Domitian with some other liaison of hers with a pantomime. Probably during his reign, Juvenal was banished for a certain passage in his Satires in which he says that the support of a dancer is more effective as an introduction for a post, civil or military, than that of any great man; this being read as an allusion to a pantomime then in high favour with the Court, whose protégés had frequently been promoted. Trajan, too, a great friend of all spectacles, loved a pantomime Pylades. Antoninus Pius 'loved the art of the pantomimes'. Amongst the freedmen who ranked high at the luxurious court of Lucius Verus, there were no less than three pantomimes; these were Memphis

or Apolaustus (really Agrippinus), whom the emperor had brought back from Syria, Paris (really Maximinus), and another Pylades: and some whom city gossip spoke of as lovers of Faustina were pantomimes. Caracalla made Theocritus the dancer commander of the Armenian legions.

Hence, not unnaturally, the society of actors was sought after even by the upper classes. There was a useless *senatus consultum* of 15 A.D. forbidding senators to visit the house of pantomimes, and knights to form their escort. Under Nero men and women eagerly thronged to accompany them: young noblemen behaved like their grooms: city rumour said much of immoral relations between them and prominent persons: under the successors of Nero the greatest crowd followed them, and, under the Antonines, many regularly passed some part of the morning with pantomimes or charioteers. On the spot where Paris, executed by Domitian, fell, many of his admirers strewed flowers and poured forth fragrances, and Martial wrote his epigram: 'Wanderer on the Via Flaminia, do not pass by this noble marble monument. The delight of Rome, the wit of Alexandria, art, grace, merriment, joy, the glory and the grief of the Roman stage, and all the goddesses and gods of love lie here buried with Paris'. And ladies of high station were reputed to be susceptible to the charms of the actors, and to bid high for their favours.

As a result of this universal, intense interest in the stage and the actors, the rivalries of great artists necessarily led to theatrical factions; the more so, as of old competitions were customary, with palms, wreaths and other honours as the prizes. Even in Republican times actors organized a *claque* to secure this party attachment. They aimed at getting as many influential adherents as possible, paid their applauders well, distributed them in the crowd, and tried to gain popular favour through professional clappers. The instigator of the revolt of the Pannonian legions in 14 A.D., Percennius, was a soldier, an insolent agitator and skilled demagogue, and trained in early life as leader of a *claque*. Under the influence of the Circus factions and of distinguished sympathizers, including even the emperors, these theatrical parties were further developed; their attempts to terrorize and suppress each other led to bloodshed and scuffles in the theatre, despite the presence of a cohort (1,000 men) of the

Guard, and the frequent banishment of the actors, and punishment of their adherents. This disorder spread from Rome to the provinces. The imperial procurator of Epirus complained to Epictetus that he had been insulted in the theatre by the opponents of a comedian Sophron, whose side he had, however, taken, perhaps too warmly. He had shouted, risen from his seat, and his slaves likewise. How then, says Epictetus, could he wonder that, if he behaved like the mob, they treated him as one of themselves? And in the provinces it was the *collegia juvenum* who were most concerned in these scenes of disorder. Callistratus the jurist, writing under the Severi, says that people, calling themselves young men, regularly join in the tumultuous applause of the public. If it be their only crime, and first offence, they need only be caned (a punishment for low-class free men), or forbidden the theatre; a second offence shall entail banishment; and hardened offenders, with whom gentler measures fail, are to be executed. Only pantomimes are mentioned as the cause of such factions and tumults, which proves how completely this kind of show overshadowed all others.

The historians, who ascribe due importance to these incidents at Rome, mention those of greater consequence, and the attitude of the emperors. The rivalry of Pylades and Bathyllus in 17 B.C. caused uproars in the theatre; but Augustus was lenient towards the actors, as the causes, first, of diverting popular excitement from public matters, and also because Bathyllus was the favourite of Maecenas. In 15 A.D., at the festivals of the obsequies of Augustus, the rivalry of the pantomimes occasioned further disorder, but Tiberius, at the beginning of his reign, did not dare to inhibit the theatrical licence to which the people had become accustomed. But the following year a faction-fight in the theatre, incited by Drusus, led to scenes of tumult; the officials were disregarded; the Guard intervened, and, in the scuffle, several of the people and a centurion fell, and a tribune of the Praetorian Cohort on duty was wounded. The result was the *senatus consultum* empowering the praetors to inflict banishment for breaches of the peace. But disorder still continued, and the praetors were powerless; in 22 or 23 Tiberius had to decree exile from Italy against actors, guilty of exciting these tumults, or of other crimes, and especially against the pantomimes; and he was

deaf to any popular petition for their recall. Caligula permitted the actors to return at the very beginning of his reign, and under him and Claudius no decrees against theatrical disorder are heard of. In 55 Nero dispensed with the Praetorian Cohort on duty, ostensibly to withdraw the men from the temptations of the theatre: consequently faction-fights became more violent, especially as Nero incited the combatants by promising impunity and rewards, and took sides, first secretly and then openly; at one fight, when stones and broken benches were being hurled about, he eagerly joined in the fray, and wounded a praetor in the head. Then it seemed again the Guard was indispensable; the pantomimes were once more banished from Italy: the ringleaders were imprisoned by the praetors, and the attempt of a *tribunus plebis* to hinder this unpopular measure was foiled by the Senate. But very soon after, about 66 A.D., pantomimes were again allowed. Titus sternly refrained from applauding even his favourite pages, who were the leading dancers of the day. Domitian prohibited any public appearance of pantomimes; Nerva restored them at the earnest request of the people. Trajan at the beginning of his reign again forbade it, but removed the prohibition after his Dacian triumph of 107 A.D. Hadrian, and after him Alexander Severus, made Court pantomimes a public service. Lucius Verus especially favoured pantomimes. Prohibitions occur in the second century, but not afterwards; probably in those times of growing degeneracy, with the theatres absorbing all public interest, they were not issued.

IV. THE STADIUM

The athletic and musical contests of Greece were the last to acclimatize themselves at Rome. Not common under the Republic, with the gradual amalgamation of Roman and Greek culture and manners, they became popular under the Empire. Here we shall only speak of the athletic contests. This spectacle, like the *venationes*, was first introduced in 186 B.C. by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, when many performers crossed over from Greece for the purpose. One hundred years later, Sulla at his triumph over Mithridates (81 B.C.) exhibited athletes at Rome in such numbers, that at Olympia only foot-

races could be held, for want of competitors in other contests. The example was followed by Marcus Scaurus in 58 B.C. in his aedileship (probably on an unheard of scale, since Valerius Maximus erroneously makes him the first introducer of them), and by Gaius Curio at his father's funeral (53 B.C.), and Pompey, at the dedication of his theatre in 55. But the feeling of most Romans is well exemplified by Cicero, who, writing to Marcus Marius, says he will hardly be keen on the athletes, as he disliked *even* gladiators ; and Pompey admitted he had spent ' trouble and oil ' in vain. But in 46 B.C. Caesar at his triumphal games set athletes fighting for three days on a stadium temporarily erected on the Campus Martius.

Augustus was extremely interested in these exhibitions, and also instituted contests of athletes, ' collected from all parts ', on the Campus Martius, twice in his own name, and once in his nephew's. He was the first to ensure not only frequent but also regular contests. As a perpetual celebration of the victory of Actium he renewed and extended the festival of Apollo, there celebrated from of old : he founded the city of Nicopolis, and instituted gymnastic and musical contests at intervals of four years, probably on the anniversary of the victory (September 2): for athletes, after the *Augustalia* at Naples, used to go to Nicopolis. Augustus was present at the Augustalia, shortly before his death (August 19). The *Actia* became a fifth sacred contest of Greece, and, in the Early Empire, dates were sometimes reckoned by Actiads as well as by Olympiads ; and these contests subsisted until very late, and ranked high. Julian restored them. Numerous inscriptions of athletes and musicians from the most various Greek-speaking lands, prove that the honour of victory at the Actiads was as great as that of the wreath of Olympia and Delphi. Similar periodical festivals were set on foot in honour of Augustus by princes like Herod of Judaea in 8 B.C., and, in many provinces, besides temples and altars, nearly every town held Augustal games.

At Rome, immediately after the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.), the Senate decreed a quadrennial festival to celebrate the victory, which was held for the first time under the presidency of Agrippa in 28 B.C., the year in which the Palatine temple of Apollo was dedicated. These games ' for Caesar's prosperity ', and sacred to Apollo of Actium, were henceforth given every

four years by the consuls and the four great colleges of priests alternately, but only up to the death of Augustus ; the last celebration mentioned is in 9 A.D. At the games in 28 B.C. noble men and boys handled the chariot, as in the sacred games of Greece, and a stadium was specially erected in the Campus Martius for the athletes ; and a gladiatorial contest was also given. The festival lasted several days ; Augustus was ill, and on some of them Agrippa presided. Without doubt athletic games were a feature of subsequent celebrations. At a festival given by the *pontifices* the people demanded a boxing-match ; Augustus postponed it until the next day, and forbade women to come in before the fifth hour. He endeavoured to exclude women from athletic spectacles altogether.

Their greater frequency made athletic games popular, and soon the people demanded ' Greek contests ' from the officials who provided the State games and paid as much regard to such desires as did the emperors. Caligula gave gymnastic games at Rome in 38, and simultaneously at several places in 39 on Drusilla's birthday ; Claudius at the British triumph in 44 A.D. varied the chariot-races in the Circus with athletic contests. But it was Nero's love of Greek manners that contributed more to popularize these games at Rome. In 60, he instituted the first ' holy ' festival after the Greek model, with three kinds of contests, chariot-racing, gymnastics, and singing, music, poetry and oratory ; the festival was to be quinquennial and the cost to fall on the exchequer. The contest of chief importance was the musical competition, which had been lacking in the Roman games of the Actian Apollo, and the idea was due to Nero's desire to shine as a poet, singer and cither-player. It was celebrated in the theatre under the presidency of consulars, with distinguished Romans taking part in it and following the emperor's example. The victors were wreathed. At the first celebration the gymnastic contests were held in the *Saepta*, and the Vestal Virgins invited, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were the only women allowed in. But the emperor, about the same time, annexed to his *thermae* a *gymnasium*, and, at its dedication, distributed oil to the Senate and the Knights, a plain hint to the upper classes to take part in these contests. But opponents stigmatized it as the utmost degradation to nobility, to bare the body, put on boxing-gloves, and exercise themselves in such contests, instead of in arms.

This took place once. One Palfurius Sura, the son of a consular, a talented but morally irresponsible man, appeared as a wrestler, and once, so rumour says, wrestled with a Spartan maiden. This tremendous insult to Roman feeling found no imitators. During the festival many assumed Greek dress. After the second celebration in 65, and its continuation in 66, the Neronea are no more mentioned, and perhaps were abolished after Nero's death. Gordian III restored and extended them, probably in 240, before setting out on his Persian campaign of 241 ; this was the 36th celebration of the Neronea. Thenceforward the festival was called the 'contest of Minerva'.

In 86 A.D. Domitian instituted the Capitoline Agon, which ranked with the Olympian, and obtained a far greater and enduring importance. This was also quadrennial, and held in the early summer, so that competitors might come from beyond the sea ; the three main species of competition were the same, and the prize a wreath ; Domitian added a few unusual contests, which soon ceased. Thus the competition in Greek and Latin oratory lapsed, but the unique prize for Greek and Latin poetry was a poet's highest ambition throughout the Empire, and the hope of receiving the oak-wreath from the emperor's hand, after the judicial pronouncement, brought the most talented poets from distant provinces beyond the seas to Rome. The memory of these coronations of poets on the Capitol lasted down through the Middle Ages, and Petrarch was proudest of his coronation by the Senator of Rome. In the musical competitions, originally there was only a contest of solo and chorus citherists ; later in singing and in citharoedic (singing accompanied by cithers), and the Pythian solo flute, and also flutes in orchestra ; possibly also, in dramatic representations. For these musical performances Domitian had a covered theatre, the Odeum, built on the Campus Martius by the famous architect Apollodorus, which was considered one of the loveliest buildings of Rome, as late as the fourth century.

The Capitoline Agon consisted of the same gymnastic contests for men and boys, as in Greece ; the races for girls, introduced at first, after the Spartan custom, soon fell into disuse. Naturally, as a rule, competition was left mainly to Greek athletes, whose numerous extant memorials boast of the wreaths of victory. One Titus Flavius Archibius won in

four successive Capitoline Olympiads (94–106 A.D.), the first time in the boys' *pancration*, and three other times in that of the men ; and Cassius Dio, the historian, mentions that Aurelius Helix the athlete was victorious (in 218) both in the wrestling and the boxing at the Capitoline *agon* : a feat achieved only by seven champions since Heracles at Olympia, and at Rome by none before. Domitian built a *stadium* for athletes on the Campus Martius, capable of holding 30,000, or 33,000 spectators : remains of it were still visible in the Middle Ages, and the name Piazza Navona (Campus Agonis) still preserves its name and form. The Greek character of the entire festival was outwardly preserved under Domitian, if not afterwards. The Emperor presided in a Greek purple mantle and in Greek shoes, wearing a golden crown with images of the three Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva: the assessors and judges were the *flamen* of Jupiter and the College of Priests of the Flavian House in the same dress, except that the emperor was also depicted in their wreaths. Later the priesthoods, under the presidency of the Emperor, had the alternate conduct of the contests. The general assemblage was the most brilliant audience in the world for any athlete, artist or poet. These Games survived down to the very end of antiquity.

Other contests, perhaps exclusively athletic, were founded by different emperors, e.g., a Feast of Hadrian, instituted by Antoninus Pius ; Games of Hercules in honour of Alexander the Great, probably under Caracalla, which were celebrated as late as Alexander Severus ; the Agon of Minerva of Gordian III, and the quadrennial Feast of the Sun-god, founded by Aurelian in 274. A Greek athlete boasts in his inscription of having beaten the Romans in running, and in the stadium, as well as in the double course at the contests of the Sun-god, the Moon goddess, and Hercules, and of having won prizes and wreaths at them all. At the millenary festival of the city under Philip the Arab in 248, athletic contests besides others were held. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (who died in 257) writes : 'Men practise for the race at the secular festival and account a wreath received in presence of the people and the Emperor as great fame'. In a Greek anecdote, a school pedant consoles an athlete who has failed in the contest : 'he will win at the next millenary *agon*'. Of all these *agones* nothing

further is known ; none attained anything like the repute of the Capitoline. But, apart from them, under the Empire, especially in the third century, the appearance of athletes at Rome at spectacles of all kinds became no doubt more and more common. Thus Severus at his triumph summoned musical and gymnastic performers from all parts of the Empire, and the medals of this celebration, as those of Gordian III in 244, represent an athlete in the Circus ; the same too appears in the circus mosaic of the Circus at Barcelona. At the great games of Carinus, a thousand athletes performed, and were presented, like other Greek artists, with gold and silver and silk clothing. After the fifth century gymnastics replaced gladiators, if not before ; thus at the consular games of Flavius Mallius Theodorus we find athletes, but no gladiators. In the astrological work of Firmicus Maternus about 350 A.D. nativities of gladiators are far less frequent than of athletes, who are often mentioned with their masters as being in the service of great men.

The Greek *agones* met with a very hostile reception at Rome from true-spirited Romans, who objected to athletic contests, although some were customary in Italy and the West, and public exhibitions of wrestling, boxing, and pugilism had been seen at Rome. Boxing, a national mode of fighting in Etruria, Latium, Campania and Africa, was practised in Italy by whole troops at a time : one of the high officials of Pompeii under Augustus allowed Greek boxers to appear beside native ones on the forum. This pastime was always popular at Rome, at the time of Terence (whose *Hecyra* failed on its first appearance in 165 because of the superior attraction of boxing-matches), as well as in Horace's time, when the mob often asked for a bear or a boxer in the middle of a piece, ' following its own sweet taste '. But Italian contests must have been very unlike the Greek, especially in the lack of science and grace. Roman objections to Greek gymnastics were primarily moral, for nudity was considered shameful ; Cicero approves the sentiment of Ennius, that ' the beginning of shame is to strip before fellow-citizens '. Another ground was its practical uselessness : the exercises did not tend to make good soldiers ; lastly, the fear of the corruption of youth by the idle life of the gymnasia, which, so the Romans thought, had principally contributed to the fall of Greece.

But, despite this general disesteem, Greek exercises were so much in favour towards the end of the Republic that, as Varro complains, at least one gymnasium was an essential to every villa. These gymnasia served for curative exercise (*iatraliptice*): Prodicus of Selymbria, a pupil of Hippocrates, had devised this cure, and, according to Pliny the Elder, thus got the rubbers and doctors' assistants an income. At a banquet given by Apicius, a notorious glutton, Junius Blaesus was present, and gymnastics were the staple of conversation; one fine old man of 91, Isidorus, was there, as it were to prove, as a hale and hearty man and skilled wrestler, its utility in prolonging life. Celsus strongly deprecates the use of this curative exercise for healthy people, for whom he considers any athletics inadvisable; but probably, like all Greek customs, it made more and more inroads. Trimalchio is accompanied to his bath by three massageurs.

Nero promoted Greek athletics the most vigorously, introduced them in an official festival, built a gymnasium, manifested his preference for them—on the day he received news of a rising in Gaul, he was an interested witness of performances in a gymnasium at Naples—and gave large presents to the athletes. He and his freedmen, Patrobius especially, copied the generals of Alexander the Great, and imported Nile sand; a cargo of it arrived from Alexandria during a famine at Rome and exasperated the people. The Emperor's example and the Court spread the fashion far and wide. Greek athletics now became the mode, and the art was declared by its teachers indispensable to perfect health and a perfect body, and was recommended as a part of the training of the young; conservative Society dreaded the importation of Greek depravity with Greek gymnastics. For the ancient morality, even then declining, would collapse before foreign licentiousness; every subject or object of temptation would be paraded, and the next generation enervated by gymnastics, idleness and disgraceful amours. And these ultra-conservatives, who regarded the Greeks as the original source of all evil, considered the introduction of gymnastics as part of the dietary of the healthy not only useless but immoral, and complained that young Rome was cultivating the body at the cost of the soul. Lucan, too, at the time of his disfavour with Nero's Court, expressed the same view strongly, and deemed 'the young man fresh from

the Greek gymnasium weak through sauntering on the wrestling-ground and unsuited for war'. Martial praises one Atticus for being content with simple running, and disdaining the waste of time in gymnastic exercises, whilst other young men gave themselves up to a teacher with cropped ears (often represented in pictures of boxers) and paid undeservedly large fees to a dirty rubber. Elsewhere he asks, why waste the strength of the arms on stupid dumb-bells? a better exercise for men would be digging in a vineyard. So too Pliny the Younger is grieved that the old Roman military drill under a veteran, decorated with the mural or civic wreath, is being superseded by gymnastic exercises, under the supervision of a Greek gymnast. Greeks, even, confessed that the Romans were corrupted by the Greek habit of nudity, but they repaid their teachers for the damage with interest.

When Domitian inaugurated the Capitoline *Agon*, introducing Greek games on the largest scale known, this opposition became very lively, and continued, even after the repulsive girls' race had been abolished. Once in a Council of Trajan on the question of abolishing an *agon* at Vienne, Junius Rusticus, a man of great probity and firmness, assented, and added, 'I wish they were to cease here as well'; and Pliny the Younger, who was also of the session, mentions this as a proof of intrepidity and decision. He goes on: 'It was decided to abolish the *agon*, which was corrupting the manners of Vienne, just as ours corrupt universal morals. For, if the Viennese have vices, they keep them to themselves; but our vices propagate, and in the empire, as in the body, disease is worst, if it start from the head and extend'.

This national disinclination towards athletics and Greek *agones* lasted at least up to the second century, and, at any rate, had the effect of making participation in them by members of the upper classes very rare, and by no means common amongst the lower. In the first century we hear of many knights and senators on the stage, in the Circus or the arena; but Palfurius Sura is the only man mentioned as appearing in the stadium. True, even in Rome meaner men took up the profession of athlete. In the 177th Olympiad (72 B.C.), a Roman named Gaius won the long race, and Titus gave the preference to pancratist Regulus. Martial was acquainted with one Liber 'who dealt Greek blows with an Italian hand', and obtained

the wreath for boxing, and Juvenal says that foreign manners have gone so far that the citizens of Quirinus carry 'wrestling prizes round their wax-besmeared necks'. But though Naples offered the best opportunity for a regular training in athletics, Italy produced mainly itinerant boxers, who, as Horace says, exhibited at village festivals and did not aspire to the Olympian wreath, while Greece and the East, as before, supplied the great professionals. For, whilst there are as many inscriptions of Greek athletes as of Roman charioteers and gladiators, there are hardly any of Roman athletes.

The Romans, then, were never as addicted to athletic performances as to others, but, after Nero and Domitian, there were many amateur athletes, even amongst the women. In Nero's time the friends of this art welcomed the 'latest athletes' and eagerly watched their feats; and, in the great households, there were regularly slave athletes. Such slaves often prescribed their masters' diet, and even taught how the legs should be moved in walking and the cheeks in chewing. Under Vespasian rich men decorated their wrestling-schools and grounds with statues of athletes. In Domitian's time, young men frequented the Greek exercising grounds; and favourite slaves and freedmen were sent to be trained in the *palaestra*; thus Atedius Melior sent his favourite, Glaucias. Quintilian, comparing the tricks of wrestling with an orator's tactics, exhibits considerable knowledge of the teaching of wrestling, which was mainly given by unsuccessful competitors in other branches. In Martial and Juvenal's time there were female devotees of the art, who often carried devotion further —to the performers, and sent them costly gifts; there were even amazons, who took to the hard diet of athletes, rubbed themselves with yellow sand, wrestled and practised with heavy dumb-bells. In the course of the second century, the utility of Greek athletics became more generally recognized. Hadrian, a versatile amateur, only went in for exercise with weapons; but Marcus Aurelius, the most careful liver of all the emperors, according to Galen, was a regular visitor of the *palaestra*, arriving in the short days at sunset, in the long days at the ninth or tenth hour. He loved, says his biographer, boxing, wrestling and running. Lucius Verus also enjoyed the *palaestra* and the exercises of youth. Narcissus the athlete, the companion of Commodus in his exercise and also his

murderer, was credited with omnipotence. Alexander Severus was also a 'wrestler of the first order'.

In civil rank athletes stood higher at Rome than any other public artists. Their Greek reputation still clung to them, and the imperial 'holy' contests gave them so much distinction, that such competitors enjoyed more honour than actors or gladiators, and, at least, were not, like them, infamous. The great jurists Masurius Sabinus (under Tiberius) and Cassius Longinus (consul in 30) decided that athletes did not follow an actor's trade, but rather demonstrated their bravery. In other sports, slaves frequently appeared: but, when the victor was wreathed by the hand of the emperor at the imperial *agones*, and at the sacred games of Greece, only free men might compete; for a law of Alexander Severus, that only free men might run in the Sacred Games, was probably a re-enactment of an older law. Also, in accordance with Greek custom athletes were treated with some consideration by corporations and governments. One of the distinctions the emperors might confer on pre-eminent athletes, was the life-long post of a *xystarchus*.[1]

There were many guilds of itinerant athletes, who appeared in municipal *agones* and festivals; in the second century, one of the principal was the 'Guild of athletes of the wreathed victors at the Sacred Games', who honour Hercules. These Guilds, like all others, nominated their own officials, priests and presidents from amongst themselves. This guild had a home at Rome, and its principal officer was apparently sometimes given the direction of the imperial baths. Hadrian and Antoninus Pius allowed them to have places of assembly for councils, sacrifices, and archives, especially for the Capitoline Games. Antoninus gave them as a home the baths of Titus. Some Greek letters from the emperors to these athletic guilds are extant. In the *curia Athletarum* statues of great athletes were erected. Thus Valentinian, Valens and Gratian (367–375) put up a statue of Filumenus, who had been victorious 'from east to west' in every contest in the matches, half-boxing and half-wrestling. Not only every athlete rejoiced that 'he was worthy of eternal fame', but the Senate and people of Rome enthusiastically assented. In the same guild

[1] Superintendent of the *xystus*, or covered portico in which the athletes practised in winter.

these Emperors between 384 and 392 put up a statue of a certain Johannes : a proof that the Christians did not abominate this form of sport, as they did all the other spectacles. Further, famous athletes were naturally honoured by their native towns with statues. To one such champion, who had won at many contests, even in Asian and African cities, the Senate of Ostia voted, 'for the first time, at the request of the citizens, a statue to be erected at the public expense for his extraordinary skill and services to his native city'.

But, in the first century at least, despite these appreciations, athletes were generally spoken of disdainfully at Rome. Seneca is strong on this subject, calls them stupid, their life an oscillation between drinking and sweating, their bodies fattened, their minds rude and neglected, their art oil and diet. Pliny compares their gluttony with that of horses. A Christian writer says their first victory was the acquisition of a stomach of superhuman capacity ; they sell their wretched face to be cudgelled, to feed their wretched belly. But the Greek provinces thought quite otherwise. True, in cultured circles, athletes were held in mean esteem. Plutarch says that their teachers weaned them from books and accustomed them to pass their days in jokes and frivolity, to be, like the gymnasium columns, glittering and of stone ; and Epictetus even puts in one class gladiators and the 'dirty pancratist'. Galen utterly despised athletics ; he had been irritated by the insolence of boorish athletes, who actually raised their voice against doctors in an ill-sounding, barbarous dialect, and even wrote books on dietary, of which they did not know anything at all. He evidently used his opportunity of abuse to the utmost. He says the athlete lived like a pig or worse, continually compelled to eat, sleep and exert himself beyond measure, a cycle of gorging, drinking, sleeping, evacuation, and wallowing in dust and mud. Further, athletics destroyed manly beauty, and gave the body an appearance of unnatural strength, but, for all that, a strength unequal to many functions ; and the athlete was far more liable to disease, and, even if he were not maimed, was soon useless in his profession : he could not even acquire wealth. The gymnasium made men idle, sleepy and slow-witted, so corpulent as to be hard of breath ; swine would carry out important business better than athletes. And even in their own art, they could not

do anything notable. In a contemporary lampoon (see Galen, *Protrepticus*, 13) athletes are thus impugned : if Zeus should summon all the animals to the *agon* in the Stadium as well as men, a man would never win : a hare would win in the simple race, and in the double race a deer, in the long race a horse, in fights involving strength, elephants and lions, in boxing, bulls ; and asses in the *pancration*, and the annals would record the victory of the Brayer over the men at the 21st Olympiad.

But such views were far from common in the Greek countries, for Galen had to advise young men earnestly not to prefer athletics as a career to the useful arts and sciences, nor to be led astray by the great hope of popularity. Since Greek life had lost its real content, it filled the gap with the shadow of past greatness. These *epigoni* clung with a natural and touching tenderness to the ancient recollections, and tried to preserve the ruined remains, remains often unrecognizable, of Hellenic culture and fame. Gymnastics was the first of such pious memories, an important means of education, actively practised in the institutes of the *ephebi*, and found in every Greek community from Berytus to Massilia.

The smaller the circle of higher and nobler interests, the greater became the significance of athletic contests. 'Good Greeks', Trajan writes to Pliny the Younger, 'cleave to the *gymnasia*'. In Greece one could practise 'the arts of play with honour' : to men of great culture, pre-eminent athletes seemed ideals of manhood, strength, beauty and modesty, comparable with the heroes of olden times. All Greece still assembled at the Pythian and Olympian Games, where the customs and procedure were still the same, and consecrated by centuries of use ; the Olympian victory was still the highest prize, worth arduous, long and expensive training, or even life itself. Descent from an Olympian victor was also an honour, especially for an athlete. Skilled competitors would be heavily bribed by their opponents to allow themselves to be defeated. Pausanias is surprised that not only Egyptians and foreigners could be thus tempted, but even Greeks, e.g., an Elean, who at the 192nd Olympiad (12 B.C.) bribed the opponent to secure victory for his son in the wrestling bout. The victors were hired by the providers of festivals at high fees ; Dio of Prusa mentions a payment of five talents (£1,178 14*s*.). The names of the *paradoxonicae* (those who in one day

won the wreath for wrestling and the pancratium) were celebrated and revered throughout the world by their grandsons and great-grandsons; such were Nicostratus at the 204th Olympiad (36 A.D.), who was the 7th or 8th after Hercules, Aelius Helix the Phoenician, the first *paradoxonicus* at the Capitoline Games.

Further, athletes, especially those who won the wreaths, enjoyed many privileges which Augustus confirmed and extended. Probably one of them was exemption from the costly municipal offices and charges, a privilege restricted by Diocletian and Maximian to men who all their life long had taken part in contests and had been victorious in at least three sacred contests, one at Rome or in Greece proper, without any suspicion of bribery. The sacred *agones* were those for which the emperors accorded the triumphal procession of the victors to their native city, and their life-long maintenance at the public cost. The towns in which famous competitors appeared vied in celebrating them in busts, statues, decrees of honour, gifts of the franchise and the dignity of councillor.

Sometimes the athletes showed their prowess in war. Mnesibulus of Elatea, victor at the 235th Olympiad (161 A.D.), fought at the head of some volunteers (probably about 178–9) and repelled the Costoboci, himself dying on the field. At the gallant defence of Byzantium against Septimius Severus in 194–196, a boxer played a prominent part. Hence it is hardly credible that, in the Greek provinces, it was considered improper for a man of good, even distinguished family to appear in public as an athlete, although only one inscription in confirmation of such an appearance is found: that of an athlete, Claudius Apollonius Rufus, of the fourth century, a man of consular family. Romans of good family probably only took part with their chariots in the chariot-races, e.g., at the 195th Olympiad (1 A.D.), when Tiberius entered a four-in-hand, at the 199th (17 A.D.), when Germanicus took part; at the 227th (129 A.D.), Julius Minicius Natalis, son of the consul of 106 or 107, and himself afterwards consul. Similarly the Roman senator won, who had his statute erected there in the time of Pausanias, if he was Roman.

Generally, the social position of an athlete in the Early Empire was far better in the Greek provinces than at Rome or in Italy. But, as Greek and Oriental civilization generally

broke up and finally dissolved Roman national feeling, in the same proportion Roman prejudice must have abated. When the floor of a brilliant room in Caracalla's *thermae* was decorated with long rows of pictures of athletic victors, when Cassius Dio mentions the double victory of Aelius Helix at the Capitoline *agon* in his annals, the heroes of the stadium stood in higher esteem in the capital and in the West, than when Seneca, the two Plinies, Tacitus and Juvenal so unanimously decried the worthlessness and depravity of Greek exercises and contests.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN LUXURY

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE SUBJECT

In 1605 Meursius wrote a monograph, 'Roma luxurians sive de luxu Romanorum', which, as a general impression of a number of motley and heterogeneous facts, of which the best known are the most strange and monstrous, conveyed the idea prevalent to the present day, that the luxury of the later Roman Empire was fabulous, unparalleled, immoral and senseless. This treatise is the main authority for this view. The memory of imperial Rome calls up those oft-repeated tales of palaces built into the sea, of high roof gardens, of gold and silver mules' shoes and receptacles for filth and rubbish, of baths in asses' milk and fragrances, of drinks in which costly pearls were dissolved, and dishes of peacocks' brains and flamingoes' tongues.

These exaggerations flourish in an atmosphere which magnifies everything Roman, good or bad, to a Titanic extent, as compared with modernity; a tendency to which even the best antiquarians are too prone, e.g., C. G. Zumpt, who thought we were babies, as compared with the ancients, in the art of enjoyment, and W. A. Becker, who deemed our most extravagant luxury poverty in comparison with the prodigal magnificence of Ancient Rome. But a closer examination shows that the authoritative facts have been distorted or misconstrued, and that this view must be taken with several grains of salt. This would be so, even if the facts were as fully credible, as their nature partially proves them not to be.

Further, since the first decades of the nineteenth century, and still more since about 1850, throughout civilization

luxury has increased enormously, and the standard for us is not that of those who, one or two generations back, thus expatiated on Roman luxury. Compare the first and the second French Empire; the luxury of the first astounded the world; it seemed modest to the second. Alfred Austin in 1883 said that, in the last generation, English luxury had advanced with prosperity, step by step; and Gladstone says that luxury has become far greater in the last fifty years than in all preceding centuries since 1066, and that the life of the rich is unlike anything known since the decline of Rome.

This traditional risk of antiquarianism, of drawing false conclusions from isolated cases, and mistaking the exception for the rule, has not been avoided by critics of Roman luxury. But, further, after the fashion of Meursius, statements from any epoch and of any sort have been jumbled together —tales of the extravagances of notorious spendthrifts, and refined debaucheries of voluptuaries—without, as a rule, any consideration of the point of view of the author, or the context.

But, above all, the tales of luxury of individual emperors should have been excluded. A Caligula or a Nero became abnormal in this respect, because they had a mania to inspire the world with the idea of their omnipotence, to prove the superhuman greatness of Caesardom, and the immeasurable gulf between the world-ruler and his subjects; a demonstration that for him nothing was impossible, that his will was limitless. Thus Caligula, whose Caesarian madness seems to have been tainted with actual insanity, who 'strove most of all to realize what men deemed impossible', had buildings set up in the sea during a storm, and squandered the tribute of three provinces (10 million sesterces, about £100,000) in one day; thus he and Nero, the 'desirer of the incredible', undertook to realize the wildest dreams of fantasy at their feasts, in their ships of state and palaces.

But in the first two centuries Caligula and Nero are isolated exceptions. Not even Lucius Verus is comparable; Vitellius' luxury was the sating of a monstrous gluttony. On the other hand, Tiberius, Galba, Vespasian and Pertinax were economical and even mean; the rest were never spendthrifts. And it is doubtful whether even the luxury of Caligula and Nero was more extravagant and per-

nicious than that of many a petty German prince of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Augustus the Strong of Saxony spent 80,000 thalers on one opera, and five millions on his pleasure camp at Mühlberg. Charles of Würtemberg, the founder of the Karlsschule, made his court the most brilliant in Europe, had the best actors playing at his theatre, gave the most costly gifts by lot to his guests, had fountains of wine for the multitude, fireworks that cost half a ton of gold, dug lakes out of mountains, gave sledging parties on snow transported from miles around: and all the money for this wild extravagance was extorted from countries whose taxable wealth was hardly equal to that of a single Roman province. Under Augustus the Strong the revenue of Saxony was six million thalers. Würtemberg, a country of 155 square miles and about 600,000 inhabitants, found the revenue from the royal demesnes and the taxes insufficient to cover expenses. It would be as just to deduce the manners of Germany of that time from the habits of these absolutist Courts, as to infer from the luxury of Caligula and Nero the manners of Rome. It is equally misleading to refer to the Roman grandees of the late Republic, who in their victorious campaigns plundered wealthy and partially unexhausted lands, and returned home with vast wealth and treasure. The colossal expenditure of a Scaurus, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar was induced by conditions that never recurred in antiquity, and on a scale hardly surpassed by the emperors. Plutarch says that the gardens of Lucullus, despite the great increase of luxury, were still among the most splendid of the imperial gardens; and, according to Pliny, Scaurus' theatre, the work of a private individual, was more wildly extravagant than any building of Caligula or Nero. We cannot tell whether the spoils of the centuries-old treasure-hoards of the Oriental despots, which fell into the hands of the Roman conquerors of Asia, were less than the booty of the Spanish *conquistadores* or the English conquerors of India. The ransom for Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru, was 23,300,998 francs (the franc then being worth at least four times its present value), of which Pizarro's share was 1,402,748 francs. Clive, says Macaulay, could easily have piled up a fortune in Bengal, greater than any other subject in Europe possessed. Without extorting more from the rich natives than was usual

under the mildest native ruler, he could have made sure of presents amounting annually to £300,000, since the neighbouring princes would willingly have bought his friendship at any price. Roman generals and provincial officials had the same opportunities in the East as Clive and Warren Hastings, and were as grasping as the latter. A few facts may illustrate the enormous sums they amassed. Aristobulus, the King of the Jews, at the time of his quarrel with the high priest, his brother Hyrcanus, bribed Aulus Gabinius the Legate with 300 talents, Marcus Aemilius Scaurus the quaestor with 400, and Pompey with a golden vine worth 500 (a talent =£235 15*s*.). Ptolemy Mennaeus, prince of a predatory state on the Lebanon, bought his freedom and independence from Pompey for 1,000 talents, with which Pompey paid his troops. Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia paid him 33 talents a month, which hardly amounted to the interest on his debt. Gabinius brought home from his proconsulate in Syria over a hundred million *denarii* (£3,500,000). He received 10,000 talents (£2,350,000) from Ptolemy Auletes of Egypt in return for his support, after Caesar in his own and in Pompey's name had mulcted him of 6,000 talents (£1,400,000). Crassus robbed the Temple at Jerusalem of money and valuables to the amount of 10,000 talents. Gaul, too, was a proverbial land of wealth, and rich in gold in Caesar's time. In 106 B.C. Quintus Servilius Caepio sacked the temple at Tolosa, a city of the Tectosages, and, according to Posidonius, secured over 15,000 talents (£3,500,000). In the whole region of the Rhine, and by the Loire and Seine all coins were of gold in many places, and Caesar's Gallic booty included so much gold that the value of the pound fell from 4,000 to 3,000 sesterces in Italy and the provinces, a depreciation of 25 per cent. as against silver.

But the necessary expenses of position and notorious crimes obliged the Romans of the late Republic to spend as large sums as they looted. Like Warren Hastings, their acquittals might mean a total or partial sacrifice of their filchings. And the huge expense incidental to political undertakings, bribery on an enormous scale, the maintenance of a numerous train of servants, the fabulously splendid spectacles, swallowed up tremendous sums. The aedileship of Scaurus exhausted his property and involved him in debt. Thus these

treasures were lost as soon as they were won: these nabobs owned very little in comparison with their receipts and their outlay. Crassus even, whose wealth was unexampled in his time, was not so rich as many freedmen of the Early Empire, such as Pallas, Callistus and Narcissus. Before the Parthian War he owned about 7,000 talents (£1,650,000). To the Elder Pliny, the later Republic seemed, in comparison with his own time, an epoch of penury. Probably, as a matter of fact, capital was accumulated in greater amount, and more generally, in imperial times than under the Republic. The causes of an increase of general prosperity also contributed to the making of large individual fortunes, especially the plunder of many new unexploited provinces, the increase of trade, especially with less civilized peoples, the assurance and facility of means of communication, and the quicker circulation of money.

But, although the greatest wealth of the Empire included slaves, a valuable property now practically extinct, it was still much less than the opulence of modern days. A freedman of Nero might call a man worth £652,500 deplorably poor, but millionaires in all ages are insolent; even if the tale be true, it is a proof, not that such a fortune was poverty, but that it was poverty compared with their own. Similarly, of one capitalist who only left £2,000,000, the greatest banker of Europe is said to have remarked, 'I did not think he was so poor'. The greatest fortunes throughout the history of Rome were only 300 and 400 million sesterces (£3,762,500 and £4,350,000), but only two persons are recorded worth so much, the augur Gnaeus Lentulus, and Nero's freedman, Narcissus; but capital then bore higher interest than now, at least 6 per cent. The largest income known in antiquity was that of the richest families at the beginning of the fifth century, about 4,000 pounds of gold net, and a third as much in kind: according to present standards about £243,624 a year.

A useful, if insufficient, estimate of these sums can be derived from a few facts as to the greatest properties and incomes at different epochs and in various lands: many of these fortunes are larger than those under the Empire. Huge fortunes were easily acquired and squandered under the Khalifs. Under Khalif Mahdy a rich Hashimid at Bassora had a daily income of 100,000 dirhems (or francs), and 50,000

clients. Lorenzo de'Medici left at his death in 1492, 235,137 gold florins.[1] Jacques Cœur (1400–1456) was the richest man in France in the Middle Ages, with all the banking business for imports and exports in his hands, and owned many branches in the Levant, and in most of the French towns, as well as copper, lead and silver mines; he was able to lend Charles VII 200,000 écus (16 or 20 million francs), to drive the English out of Normandy. He acquired more than twenty domains and castellanies, had houses and castles in the great cities of France and fitted several of the castles up. An unjust fine against him amounted to 400,000 écus. Agostino Chigi, the banker of Julius II, a Rothschild of his time, owned more than 100 ships at sea, and commercial houses at Lyons, London, Constantinople, Amsterdam, and even Babylon, had 20,000 men in his employ, and an income of over 70,000 ducats. The Fuggers, according to R. Ehrenberg, in 1511 possessed 250,000 florins in round figures, and by 1527, 2,000,000, and in 1546 their fortune amounted to $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions; at the beginning of the seventeenth century, after a loss of 8,000,000, they became bankrupt. Voltaire estimated Mazarin's fortune at 200,000,000 francs. Under Louis XIV Samuel Bernard the banker was worth 33,000,000 livres, and Bretonvilliers, a former tax-collector, had an annual income of 3,000,000 francs (modern value). Alekséy Danilóvich Menshikóv (who died in 1729) at his banishment had either 5 or 10 million roubles. In Little-Russia he owned four cities, 88 ecclesiastical villages, 99 villages, 15 hamlets, and 87 fisheries; in Ingermanland 16 estates, 98 villages, diamonds and precious stuffs worth a million roubles, 72 dozen silver plates, 105 *puds* (1686 kilogrammes) of gold table plate. Potemkin, despite a frightful extravagance and luxurious life, scarcely rivalled in the *Arabian Nights*, amassed a fortune of 90,000,000 roubles in sixteen years, though the State revenue was only 50 millions. Kutaisov, the favourite of Paul, had an income of 300,000 roubles. The annual expenditure of Count Brühl was estimated at 6,000,000 marks. Cardinal Louis Rohan, notorious for the necklace case, had an income of about £250,000. Of the Spanish grandees in the eighteenth century the Duke of Alba had a revenue of 8,000,000 *reales* (more than

[1] The intrinsic value of the Ducato, Zecchino, Fiorino d'Oro, Scudo d'Oro is about the same, 11–12 modern francs.

£80,000), and the Duke of Berwick 2,000,000, but these incomes were chiefly squandered on a large train of servants. According to Bismarck in 1859 the Duke of Ossuna had an income of millions, owned splendid gardens and castles in Spain, Italy, Belgium and Sardinia, of which he had only seen pictures. Of the Polish magnates under Stanislaus Augustus, Felix Potocki could ride thirty miles on his own land, and, in despite of his father's debts, he still had an annual income of 700,000 marks, and was the richest man in Poland. The Czartoryskis owned fifteen cities, eleven domains with castles, two palaces in Warsaw, and the estate of Augustus Czartoryski brought in a revenue of £90,000. Karl Radziwill left, after a thoroughly Polish mal-administration, an estate worth £125,000 to £150,000 annually.

Up to 1863 the serfs, who comprised nearly a third of the population, formed a large part of these fortunes. Catherine II is said to have given away 800,000 of them, and Count Peter Borisovich Sheremetyev, the son of Boris Petrovich, ennobled by Peter the Great, was the largest owner of over 160,000 or 200,000 or 128,000 male serfs, some of whom were themselves millionaires. Prince Nicholas Borisovich Yusupov, when Frederick William III visited him at Moscow after the birth of Alexander II in 1818 at his estate at Archangel, gave a feast and had forty thousand serfs in festive dress to receive the guests and offer them salt and bread, the Russian symbols of hospitality. The Yusupovs, though their estates were often confiscated for conspiracies, in 1870 were wealthier than most German princes, and, as two serfs, father and son, as stewards had earned them 3 millions, were hardly affected. The Demidovs, it is said, owned a huge rock of malachite of which every *pud* was worth 800 roubles. Astashev, a very wealthy man, in a single year (1843) obtained 111 *puds* of gold, i.e., about £255,244 10*s*., from his mines in Siberia ; Yakubov the ensign, 'perhaps the wealthiest man on the Continent in 1847' was worth more than £15,000,000.

In the rest of Europe and England in particular, as also in America, the accumulation of capital in a few hands since about 1850 had attained unprecedented heights. In 1818 Mme. de Remusat could still call a fortune of a million 'immense'. In England, in Johnson's time, no man of eminence could spend more than £5,000 a year ; according to Macaulay, about

1760 an income of £40,000 was as rare as one of £100,000 in 1840; in 1854 there were only twenty members of the House of Commons with an income of £10,000, but in 1888 five times as many with an income treble or quadruple. Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year* was written in 1841. In New York in 1846 there were only sixteen persons with property over a million dollars; one of these 'modest millionaires' was John Jacob Astor, who died in 1848 worth 25–30 million dollars. These immense fortunes of individuals began with the great revival of America after her Civil War. In 1865 Alexander T. Stewart gave his annual income as 4,071,256 dollars, and paid 407,000 income-tax. Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1846 was worth 750,000 dollars, and died at the age of 81 in 1877; he said he had on the average made a million every year since his birth: he left his heirs 90 millions, and legacies amounting to 15 millions. Jay Gould in 1884 was deemed the richest man in the world, and had 275 millions. J. W. Mackay came second with 250 million dollars.

But if America has the largest number of individual incomes, England is the richest country: in 1888 it had 200 of the total 700 owning over £1,000,000; 2,418 had an income of over £10,000, and in France only 700–800, and in Germany only 144. A list was drawn up in 1884 of the twelve greatest millionaires. Rothschild, the richest man in England had £40,000,000, and the Duke of Westminster £16,000,000; the three other Englishmen are the Dukes of Sutherland and Northumberland, and the Marquis of Bute, who comes last with £4,000,000. The seven others are Americans. In Prussia, at the beginning of 1900, the income-tax registered forty-two persons with £50,000 to £100,000 annual income, fifteen with £100,000 to £350,000, and Krupp with £750,000 to £800,000.

But all these facts cannot settle the question whether the opulent of antiquity were richer than the opulent of to-day, even if the real worth of money in both periods were accurately known. It has been held that the purchasing value of money was then far higher than now, a view confirmed by the latest research on the subject by Robertus. He admits it sank from the last centuries of the Republic up to about Nero's reign, but only in Rome and Italy; and after Nero it rose throughout the entire Empire. But, apart from the many

side issues, the facts of antiquity by no means suffice for such sweeping conclusions. For, in ancient times, the means of enjoyment and the industrial products were enhanced in price by the difficulty of transport and the imperfect methods of manufacture, as also by their comparative rarity, the smaller amount of the noble metals in circulation in the Empire, and a proportionate absence of the means of enjoyment and of objects of value. The use of paper for money only developed slowly, and the rapidity of the circulation of money, which is equivalent to a greater abundance of it, cannot be estimated. It may never be ascertained (though it is not impossible), whether the mass of manufactured or imported commodities has not increased in the same measure as the quantity of gold and silver, or whether—and this is the principal means of comparison of wealth then and now—the greatest fortunes under the Empire were more in excess of ordinary incomes than they are now. Anyhow, any calculations of the relative purchasing value of the same sums in antiquity and the present time are absolutely arbitrary.

The luxury of emperors, and the great men of the dying Republic is abnormal, as also the other examples relied on, some of which are reported as quite exceptional. Apicius under Augustus and Tiberius squandered huge fortunes of 60 or 100 million sesterces in refined debaucheries, and, on credible authority, committed suicide on finding it reduced to ten millions, because he could not live on such a pittance, or possibly because he had exhausted every kind of pleasure; he was regarded as a marvel of extravagance by his contemporaries. Apio wrote a learned book on his luxury: his name became proverbial, a myth and a perfect type of the reveller; two hundred years later Elagabalus took him as a model. He was the subject of many anecdotes, of which the following, possibly borrowed from his book, will suffice. He once took a dangerous voyage to Africa from Minturnae, because he had heard the crabs were bigger there, and returned at once, when convinced of the contrary. As a rule, to infer universally from anomalies and exceptions is unsafe, and especially for imperial Rome, where influences and conditions, never since reproduced, tended to exaggerate vice and extravagances to the utmost: and thus Apicius and his compeers may have outdone a Count Brühl or a Cardinal Rohan, who is said to have failed

to understand how any one could live on less than 1,500,000 *livres* income.

But the senseless luxury which delights, not in enjoyment, but in the destruction and degradation of the valuable, is naturally rare, and apparently no commoner in Rome than in modern capitals, where at all epochs great wealth and licence of pleasure has produced satiety and arrogant vandalism. Examples can be found in other histories. The medieval nobles sought fame in complete disregard of their property, which they thoughtlessly squandered and destroyed. In 1174 Henry II of England summoned to Beaucaire an assembly of squires and knights, and Bertram Rambaut had a piece of land ploughed and sown with 30,000 *sols* in pennies. Guillaume de Martel, who had a retinue of three hundred knights, had all the provisions in his kitchen cooked on wax torches, and Raimond de Venous had thirty horses burnt alive. In 1500 Joachim I of Brandenburg came to Frankfort to receive the allegiance of the city, and Herr von Belkow walked beside his horse in the mud in velvet boots set with pearls. He also used to ride into the pottery market with his brothers, let their horses smash all the articles, and then paid double the price: they then led their horses back into the *Rathskeller* and washed them in malmsey wine. In Russia certain very festive occasions are considered incomplete, if the plate is not broken; German sailors make a point of dancing on porcelain, when on shore; Creole women in Habaña 'spread their new Paris-made dresses over the wheels of their carriages, to destroy them in an instant and so make a boast of their wealth'; these facts show that this perversity is not limited to any one epoch, but is implanted in the human soul.

The only striking instances of this form of luxury in ancient Rome are, apart from imperial extravagances, the use of singing birds and birds taught to speak as food, and sipping dissolved pearls. According to Valerius Maximus, the son of Aesop the great tragedian, who made a large fortune, had a mania for the latter, and, according to Pliny, used to set before every one of his guests a dissolved pearl. According to Horace, he once swallowed the pearl Metella had worn as an ear-ring, in order to drink down a million at a gulp. Maximus ascribes to the father, and Pliny to the son, the roasting of singing and speaking birds: Pliny estimates the cost of each dish at 6,000

sesterces, and the course at 100,000; and Horace mentions the two sons of Quintus Arrius, who used to feed on expensive nightingales. The variations in the accounts of these and similar anecdotes show that the details are untrustworthy, and that their only value consists in the general credence they obtained. The frequent repetition of such stories (including that of Cleopatra's pearl) has led to the conclusion that such incidents were common. But in reality these 'solecisms of luxury' were considered abnormal even then. Augustus, it is said, had his Egyptian procurator Eros crucified on a ship's mast, for buying and roasting a quail which had won its every fight. Such extravagances as breaking a silver vessel of Mentor, an old Cellini, in order to have the reliefs attached to a mistress' toilette-table, characterize the senseless wastrel or the uncultured *nouveau riche*. Trimalchio's cushions are stuffed with purple wool; and a slave is whipped for binding his master's wounded arm up with white, instead of purple wool. These incidents no more illustrate contemporary luxury, than the luxury of the eighteenth century is indicated by a Prince di Conti, who bestrews the ink of a letter with diamond dust, or the daughters of Tepper, a Warsaw banker, who in 1790 had their coffee made on a sandal-wood fire.

A further source of error is the habit of assenting unreservedly to the condemnation by Roman writers of certain forms of luxury, whereas an unprejudiced examination would have shown them innocent and sensible, even welcome symptoms of advance in civilization and prosperity. For the idea of luxury is relative. 'Every individual rank and age declares every commodity a luxury which it does not consider indispensable'. But on the whole the views of antiquity in this respect were more austere than those of modern times. The life of the ancients, as to some extent that of the Southerner even now, was far more in accordance with Nature than ours. Hence, every artificial satisfaction of needs, created by greater civilization, appeared to them not only superfluous, but unnatural, whereas the highly civilized Northern nations, who have in the first place to compensate industrially the meagreness of Nature, regard—and often rightly—every advance in craft as not only harmless, but a sign of progress.' And besides, our three main authorities on Roman luxury happen to be Marcus Varro, Lucius Seneca and Pliny the Elder, men

of peculiarly simple and strict habits, who acted on a principle of abstemiousness beyond the average of their contemporaries. This is especially true of Seneca, who in his youth abstained for a whole year from flesh, and, on the advice of Attalus, denied himself every forbidden and superfluous pleasure; he gradually became less severe; but, even in his old age, would not avail himself of oysters, mushrooms, scents, wine and warm baths, and practised great moderation in the few pleasures he permitted himself. The effects of his abstemiousness were shown by the condition of his body at the time of his death. He, Pliny and Varro, with very little qualification condemn every comfort, every refined and superfluous enjoyment; Seneca and Pliny are inclined to advocate a return to Nature. Pliny, contemplating the inexhaustible wealth of creation if left to herself, was confirmed in this tendency, and even stigmatizes the sailing-ship as an unwarrantable infraction of the order of Nature. Varro disapproves the importation of foreign foods. Pliny thinks the artificial growth of asparagus a monstrous piece of gluttony; he and Seneca—Seneca repeatedly—declaim against the cooling of drinks with snow, as an unnatural luxury: snow is now, and has been for centuries, indispensable to the poorest Southerner; Addison, who visited Naples in the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought a famine of snow, like a famine of corn elsewhere, would cause a revolt. And the desire is very natural; Galen recommends Rome, as snow is so easily procurable there. In Sicily, the growing use of snow is said to have raised the general standard of health.

Iced fruits and other flavoured substances were invented by the French at the end of the seventeenth century. The great spread of the manufacture and trade in ice in modern times is a good illustration of the difference between modern luxury and ancient, with its narrow limits. The American ice-trade, which about thirty years ago reached its height, and annually exported over £500,000 worth of Arctic ice to the equator, has now almost everywhere given way before manufactured ice, and probably refrigerators will soon be an indispensable household article.

Pliny was on insecure ground in declaiming against the use of snow as a refrigerator, but on surer, when protesting against feather-cushions, which, although mentioned by Cicero, can

never have been general, as they scarcely suit a Southern climate. But even this is hardly an excess of luxury. A political economist of the eighteenth century thought it evidence of the meagreness of Roman commerce that the Romans, to fill their cushions and pillows, only used the feathers of German geese and swans, whilst eiderdowns from the Polar countries were unobtainable. Pliny gives the price of goose-feathers as five *denarii* to the Roman pound (4*s.* 4*d.* for three-quarters of a pound). A pound of the finest eiderdown cost 6 thalers at Frankfort in 1786.

A further consideration is the tendency of most Roman writers of the period to extol the past at the cost of the present. Throughout the whole of later Roman literature there is a monotone of complaint at the degeneration of the age, and the regret at the prevalence of luxury, often justified, is far too much of an exaggerated commonplace. These *capucinades*, as Goethe called them, are, perhaps, one of the rhetorical commonplaces of the Schools, which infected even men like Seneca, who believed that human affairs always remained at the same level. Pliny, to judge imperial luxury, assumes as his standard the time when meal was eaten out of earthenware pots, and was the principal food, when the walls of houses were not even rough-cast, and one slave was sufficient for a large household. He and others talk as though this simplicity could have survived after Rome had become the capital of the world, with every commodity from every zone pouring in, and after a highly developed civilization had multiplied needs and pleasures, made them more refined and more widely spread. To such writers glory and splendour, grace and comfort, seemed as undesirable as the seamy side of civilization. Their grievance is as ill-founded as that of a modern who would set back the hands of the clock to a time of unpaved, unlit streets, when windows had no panes, and forks were unknown. Forks came into use in France in the fourteenth, and in Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and were at first discountenanced; Dandolo, an old chronicler, tells of the wife of a *doge* who used a golden fork, and reeked like a corpse before her death as a punishment. Thus too the annals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries regard every device for the increase of comfort or pleasure as a symptom of decadence, e.g., when bags of straw were replaced by mattresses, torches

by tallow and wax-candles, and bed canopies and curtains came into use. So too Holinshed prefaces his Chronicle of 1577 with a complaint at the introduction of stoves in England, and of pewter dishes and plates instead of earthen and wooden ones.

Finally, criticism of luxury has been rendered more difficult owing to its varieties not being distinguished, and excess in one being ascribed to all. But the same people at the same time may be very extravagant in one direction and very economical in another. Thus, according to William of Malmesbury, the banquets of the Anglo-Saxons were very lavish, but their homes mean, whereas the Normans were moderate eaters and built themselves splendid castles. In Germany from the sixteenth century up to recent times the homes were meagrely fitted up, but luxury was shown in dress, as so many sumptuary laws on dress prove. In the seventeenth century Russian luxury was exhibited in the extravagant use of jewellery, and otherwise almost exclusively in richness of attire, mostly of Oriental stuffs and silk. The Patriarch Nikon in 1652 in seven months spent 700 roubles or 150,000 pounds of rye on his dress, and lived otherwise on a peasant's fare, and very cheaply. Even at Court, there were golden dishes but no plates or napkins. In the seventeenth century Spanish grandees similarly combined finery and cheese-paring. Their luxury consisted in an enormous expenditure of the huge supplies of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru, mainly on plate; in accumulating costly furniture and decorations, and in numerous retinues of ill-paid, starving attendants; their living-rooms were vast, their sedan-chairs magnificent, their mules gorgeously draped, hoofed with silver; they had coaches and horses at enormous prices (e.g., 12,000–25,000 escudos); women's dresses were overloaded with jewellery and pearls. But fine linen was so rare, that many had only a single skirt, and had to do without or stay in bed whilst it was being washed. In fact all this tinsel concealed great poverty; ready money was scarce, and was hoarded up, instead of being put out at interest. President de Brosses (1739–40) observes that French and Italian ideas of splendour were very different. 'We in France reckon a great house or a great man by the excellence of his table.' The rich kept a large kitchen-staff, livery servants, had three times as many courses as they needed,

had the dessert very elaborately served: the Italians used their wealth to bedeck their native city with monuments or fine buildings, so to immortalize their name and artistic taste. De Brosses also says that the Venetian patrician ladies glittered at feasts with their jewellery, but lived very sparingly, in the simplest rooms of those proud palaces, any one of which in less than seven hours could offer the imposing spectacle of forty splendidly furnished rooms.

Thus varieties of luxury are nowise necessarily connected, and the luxury of the table, dress, decoration of the home and domestic arrangements, of burial, slaves, and art in the Roman Empire depended partially on very diverse conditions, and require treating separately. In the same way public and private luxury must be severally considered. At this point we deal circumstantially only with the latter.

The first period of vast luxury at Rome was the reign of the nabobs, and Lucullus, enriched with the booty of two Oriental kingdoms, could live like a 'Xerxes in a toga', and was, then and after, regarded as the type, which introduced into Rome the fashion of extravagance in buildings and banquets. But such expenditure was isolated under the Republic, or at least confined to a limited circle, and became general only under the Monarchy, when, as has been said, wealth became greater. Hence Tacitus is undoubtedly right in saying that Rome's period of greatest luxury was from the Battle of Actium up to the accession of Vespasian, who, himself old-fashioned, did more by his example to restrict extravagance than any laws or decrees. And, besides, many great families, under the Julian Emperors, had been ruined in the attempt to distinguish themselves by their magnificence, and the survivors profited by their example. And, lastly, the Italian cities and the provinces had introduced many *novi homines* into the Roman aristocracy, who preserved their native economy amidst their new surroundings. For the whole of the second century these facts tended to diminish luxury, as also the good example set by the emperors (with the exception of Lucius Verus), and the steady decline of the old and rise of the new nobility. Hence it need not be assumed, that, after Trajan, in whose latter years Tacitus made his statement (above quoted), there had been any material change in this respect.

I. THE LUXURY OF THE TABLE AND THE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN FOODS

§ 1

The censure of the ancients on the luxury of the table must be very cautiously taken. Southerners need much less nourishment, are far more moderate eaters and drinkers, and would regard a seasonable diet of ours as excess. The attitude towards the use of unmixed wine is one instance. Even the philosophy of Epicurus inculcated the greatest simplicity of pleasures, and the highest moderation as its first precept. The 'Teacher of Luxury' exalted him as Jupiter who was satisfied with bread and water: on this rule he insisted, and, as a supreme indulgence, allowed himself only Cythnian cheese; like Pascal at Port-Royal he tried to restrict himself to the minimum of food necessary to sustain life, and was proud that it cost him less than an *as* ($\frac{3}{8}d$); Metrodorus could not reduce his fare as much and spent a whole *as*.

At Rome, for a long time the greatest simplicity prevailed at table. In 188 B.C. the army returned from Asia Minor, acquainted for the first time with Oriental luxury and debauchery, and with the knowledge that there was any *art* of cooking; from that time cooks, hitherto the least accounted of slaves, began to fetch good prices; but even then and for the next hundred years, the luxury of the table cannot have been very great. For up to 174 B.C. the *matronae* baked their own bread; and in 161 B.C. the fattening of hens aroused great indignation, and was forbidden by a censorial edict, which was re-enacted in all subsequent sumptuary laws: but the provision was evaded by fattening cocks. Much later still, foreign birds and shell-fish were imported into Rome; these, and dormice, were forbidden by an ordinance of 115 B.C., or perhaps not till 78 B.C. About 100, Greek wine was still never served more than once, even at splendid banquets, and, in view of the facilities of communication between Greece and Italy, this fact testifies to the modesty of the table at that time. Posidonius the Stoic, in one of his notes written about 100 B.C., observes that the wealthy in Italy accustomed their children to quite simple fare, and made them eat anything there was at hand, and

drink mostly water: 'the father or the mother would often ask the son if he would like some fruit for dinner; and, after he had eaten some, he was satisfied and went to sleep'.

Yet 'flourishing trade made foreign foods and other articles necessities'. Rome's oversea relations became closer and wider; commerce more lively, and the shores of the Mediterranean exchanged their products: very soon the Romans learned that the best kids were to be had in Ambracia, the best donkey fish at Pessinus, oysters at Tarentum, and dates in Egypt. The severer moralists like Varro disapproved this tendency, and like Luther and Hutten in sixteenth century Germany considered as very reprehensible the neglect of excellent home products in the search for luxury. But this stern attitude was never common even in antiquity. Thucydides exalts Athens as receiving the imports of all countries and enjoying foreign commodities as its own; and the later Attic comedians, like Antiphanes, and Archestratus of Gela (who supplied material to Ennius) made a gastronomic tour of the world, and drew up lists of cosmopolitan delicacies with the same complacency as Brillat-Savarin, who celebrates the international origins of the meals of Paris, to which every quarter of the globe contributes its share.

Varro would be still more out of court to-day when 'a middle-class German family breakfasts on coffee from the East Indies, Chinese tea, sugar from the West Indies, English cheese, Spanish wine, and caviar from Russia, without being accused of luxury'. 'I assured him', says Gulliver, 'that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round before one of our better female Yahoos could get her breakfast or a cup to put it in'. In our time, every day we derive our food from the whole world and see nothing to blame, much less any sign of luxury in it; and Varro's complaints would be all the more out of place as transport to Germany from Asia, America and Africa is certainly no easier or less costly, than from the near Mediterranean coasts to Rome, which was practically a harbour. And the preference for certain commodities of certain places is always a necessary consequence of the increase of prosperity and commerce. The Paris, for example, of the thirteenth century was in many respects the first city of Europe, yet trade and wealth were scarcely as great as in Varro's Rome; yet 'with

regard to the source of certain foods anything but indifference prevailed; every one knew what district produced this or that article best, and whence the *gourmet* might fill his larder. Thus Vermandois peas, Orleans cresses, Auvergne turnips, Corbeilles onions, Étampes shalots, Champagne and Brie cheese, Bondy fish, Burgundian pears and Auvergne apples were greatly esteemed. The best chestnuts came from Lombardy, figs from Malta and raisins from the Levant': of foreign wines, Moselle wines, Spanish, Cypriote, Greek and Italian were specially in demand. Similar facts may be collected from all times and countries, whose commercial development is sufficiently known. Nicolai, in his life of Sebaldus Nothanker, makes a German count and epicure catalogue all the best foods of the German provinces alone, since his patriotism could not endure French food. Every day by post he received large marenas (a kind of salmon) from Pomerania, three-quarters of a yard long, flounders from the Isle of Hela, and Berlin *sandar* (perch-pike); cold tarts from Hanau, spiced brawn from Frankfort, are to be sent him in March; so too fieldfare from the Harz, pheasants from Bohemia in February; crabs from Sonnenburg, Westphalian hams cooked in champagne, caviar from Königsberg, Astrachan melons and pineapples. And Germany was then a poor and commercially undeveloped country.

A perusal of what Roman writers say about 'the disgusting hunts' and the explorations of land and sea for delicacies would make one think huge preparations were made, and whole armies of men sent out on long, dangerous and difficult expeditions, to fill the plates of Roman epicures. With Vitellius it certainly was so; for he had the ingredients of his famous gigantic dish fetched by the Roman fleets even from Spain and Parthia; they were flamingo tongues, mackerel livers, pheasant and peacock brains, and lamprey-milk. But, even among the emperors, Vitellius only found one imitator, Elagabalus; there were many more *gourmets* among the French of the eighteenth century. Verdelet, for instance, had one dish made out of the tongues of two or three thousand carp, which cost 1,200 *livres*, and Prince de Soubise often dined on an *omelette royale* invented by the cook Martin for Louis XV, and made out of cockscombs and carp-milk, which cost

100 *écus*. But, apart from the monstrosities of the imperial orgies of ancient Rome, a simple explanation is, that among the products of all countries their foods and dainties also came into the market and found a good sale. And of these delicacies from distant countries, which excited such indignation, most are birds, pheasants and the Numidian guinea hen, flamingoes and some others ; part of them were already being bred in Italy and cannot have been expensive ; in the tariff of maximum prices ordained by Diocletian, the pheasant is only priced a quarter as much again as a goose. Both birds were roasted for feasts : at the very frugal table of the Emperor Alexander Severus two fowls, one hare and much game were served up daily, and a goose on ordinary festival-days, and a pheasant only on extraordinary occasions : the Emperor Tacitus was also fond of pheasants.

Further, only after the establishment of the monarchy did the acclimatization of foreign animals and vegetables (which will be dealt with later), and their acquisition through commerce, spread to any extent, and Varro's angry censures are directed against the beginnings only of such luxury. For, in his time, foreign dishes were rare even at luxurious meals. A list of dishes eaten at a priestly inauguration between 73–63 B.C. has been preserved ; there are a few foreign dishes, but none rare or costly. It took place on August 24. The first course consisted of sea-urchins, plain oysters *ad libitum*, two sorts of mussels, a thrush on asparagus, a fatted hen, a *ragout* of oysters and mussels, black and white chestnuts ; then different kinds of shell-fish and marine animals with becaficos, loins of does and wild boars, game-pie, and purple fish with becaficos. The chief course consisted of udders of sows, a pig's head, fricassee of fish and sow's-udder, two kinds of duck (boiled or otherwise prepared), hares, roasted game, a meal pudding and Picentine bread. The menu of the dessert is lost. At this meal the most distinguished men and women of Rome sat down, including Julius Caesar as Pontifex, and six priests and six priestesses in all ; and the fare was luxurious even for the proverbially voracious priesthoods ; otherwise a writer four or five centuries later would hardly have troubled to record it. But still it would be easy to select various banquets of modern times, equally costly, which still hardly excited attention ;

and this sacerdotal dinner is not comparable with examples of eighteenth and nineteenth century luxury. Between the date of this dinner and Varro's censures the importation of foreign delicacies may have increased. But Horace describes the feast given by the rich Nasidienus to Maecenas and his friends, at which no foreign dishes are mentioned, and his satire is directed, not against the excess of food, but the absurd refinements of these epicures, a passion ridiculous to the poet, who loved simple dishes most and vegetarian fare, in accordance with the precepts of Epicurus.

As Tacitus says, the battle of Actium marks the beginning of the great epoch of luxury, when commerce flourished with universal peace, and extended by way of Alexandria to India and all Asia. At last Rome became a city into which the trade of the world, year in, year out, poured in profusion, bringing 'what every people produced and made' and 'when most distant products could be examined close at hand'. At last the rarest and costliest products of all zones could be lavished on the epicure's table. 'Now,' says Pliny in his pedantic fashion, 'different ingredients were so commingled that each perforce had to tickle the palate with a savour foreign to its own nature, and the result was a general confusion of the products of all zones and climates. In one dish India was laid under contribution, in another, Egypt, Cyrene, Crete and so forth. And even poisons men are not loth to swallow'.

The luxury of banquets in Rome from Augustus to Vespasian was no doubt very great, but Pliny the Elder, Seneca the Younger and others no doubt exaggerate its extent and its profligacy. Much that they utterly condemned, we can condone; much that was to them a heinous innovation is everyday experience to us; and other things had a different meaning in reality.

Great banquets were very costly, but the expense consisted in more than the food; there was the decoration, the service, etc.: the cost is no final estimate of the luxury. According to Kotzebue, an elegant dessert at Paris, which cost 10,000 thalers, employed workers in sugar, decorators, painters, architects and florists. At the Lord Mayor's banquets formerly food and drink cost a half of the total, under George III a third, and at the banquet of 1853 in honour of Napoleon,

only a quarter; at the last banquet the lighting cost £1,000, the arrangement of tables and chairs £1,860, and the decoration, £1,750. So too Quintus Metellus Pius' splendid feast in Spain (72 B.C.) was extravagant in decoration and fittings. A banquet given by one of Nero's friends cost in roses more than 4,000,000 sesterces (£43,500), but it was winter and they were profusely used; generally banquets were an occasion of expenditure in flowers, far more lavish than in our days. The great Condé in April of 1676 gave a feast at Chantilly and spent only 1,000 *écus* on carpeting all the rooms with narcissi. But this form of expenditure has grown of late. In England £2,000 is sometimes spent on flowers for a ball. In the table decorations of expert designers for the country houses of the great, baskets of flowers from Nice or Paris are used as a centre for hothouse groupings. The rarest orchids deck 'banquets worthy of a Lucullus'; and huge posies out of season are sold from three guineas upwards.

Another cause of outlay at ancient banquets was the habit of giving presents to the guests, or distributing them by lot. The raffles consisted of articles of very different value; at Elagabalus' feasts the guest might win ten camels or ten flies, ten pounds of gold or lead, ten ostriches or ten hen's eggs. In Martial's distichs for such raffles, there are always pairs of articles, one worthless and the other valuable. They might be writing materals, toilette articles, clothes, furniture, crockery, instruments of all kinds (musical included), eatables, games, caged birds, weapons, works of art, books, animals, (such as a trained gerfalcon), slaves; or such valuable articles as scarlet mantles ancient wrought goblets, vessels of crystal and *murra*, statuettes of gold or silver, or slaves, such as female dancers, shorthand writers, dwarfs, jesters, cooks, pastry-cooks. At a feast of Lucius Verus (which cost 6,000,000 sesterces, or £63,750 all the presents were of value; beautiful slaves are mentioned, living animals, dishes of costly material, wreaths of flowers of all seasons with golden ribbons, silver-wrought carriages with yokes of mules and drivers.

The expense of the banquet of Lucullus in the Hall of Apollo may have been 200,000 sesterces, and the Arvales often dined at 100 denarii the cover; but how much of this represented wreaths, flowers, scents (in which great luxury was shown), light, decorations, uniforms, scenic performances and presents,

we cannot tell. But this outlay at Roman banquets and its refinement was easily rivalled later, as will be subsequently shown. For the present, to take one instance, when the custom of raffling for gifts was introduced into France from Italy in the seventeenth century, at a feast at the Louvre given by Mazarin in honour of the Queen of England, all numbers won, and the greatest prize was a diamond worth 4,000 *écus*; on August 17, 1661, Superintendent Foucquet gave the king a banquet, with jewels, splendid costumes, costly weapons and horses as prizes.

Further, extravagance in banquets and the high prices paid for single delicacies are, in imperial Rome, to be ascribed not only to debauchery, but also to fashion, ostentatiousness, and the desire of being talked about among *gourmets*; and so too with other forms of luxury. 'Spendthrifts', says Seneca, 'devote their whole lives to becoming the topics of conversation, and deem lack of notoriety failure. Everything they do must be rumoured abroad, or they are discontented. Many there are who squander their property or keep mistresses; but to have a name amongst such, the extravagance must be committed with a certain *éclat*; in so busy a city ordinary dissipation is not worth gossiping about'. 'You are not content, Tucca,' says Martial, 'to be a glutton; you want to appear one and be known as one'. This striving after notoriety induced the spending of huge sums on *mulli* (barbel) of extraordinary size, often mentioned as a proof of unexampled luxury. Thus one Publius Octavius, an eminent man, bought for 5,000 sesterces a barbel weighing 5½ pounds (Roman), and the glory of having something too dear even for the emperor Tiberius and his rival Apicius; and 'thus gained much repute with his peers'. Such fancy prices were determined by the purse of the purchaser. Juvenal speaks of people who look through all ingredients and delicacies, and, regardless of price, express a preference for what costs most, ruining themselves to have dishes brought to table worth 400 sesterces. This sum (£4 7*s*) was considered prodigious—proof sufficient of the lower standard of luxury in food at that time. In fact, one litre of the rarest tit-bits, only used in small quantities, a fish-sauce called *garum* made out of the inside of the tunny fish and manufactured at Cartagena, only cost £1 13*s*. in present currency. In 1596, at a time of famine, banquets were given at Paris, at

which the dishes cost 45 *écus* or 440 francs; at a supper of the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, in Mazarin's day, each dish cost 400 *écus*. In St. Petersburg under Potemkin the grandees gave as much as 300 roubles for a fish soup made of sturgeon, the special delicacy at their banquets. Potemkin himself for a time, when prices were low, spent 800 roubles a day on his board, and, at his balls in 1791, spent 14,000 a night, when a fish-soup worth 1,000 roubles was set on table in a silver dish weighing 300 pounds. The cost of a giant trout and sauce sent by the city of Geneva to Chancellor Cambacérès was assessed by the exchequer at 6,000 francs. Pliny says, with some exaggeration, that cooks in his day cost more than erewhile triumphs; but their wages would work out at much less than those in modern Paris or London. Antoine Carême served in the kitchens of Lord Stewart, Talleyrand, Rothschild and the Emperor Alexander, and at the Russian Court received 2,400 francs as monthly salary, and his bills came to 80,000–100,000: some letters recently published show that some cooks in England received £1,200 a year. Seneca stigmatizes as monstrous a 'famous dish, the talk of the city', containing the finest delicacies, such as were usually served up separately—oysters and other shell-fish, sea-urchins, boned mullets—mixed together with one sauce, so as to be indistinguishable: 'no vomit were so well commingled'. If such a dish excited such interest, Neronian cookery must have been far less refined than modern French cuisines. Publius Servilius Rullus, in Sulla's time, introduced the fashion of serving whole boars, even when the guests were few—a fashion, too, of the Regency in France; this coarse luxury (much in vogue in the Elder Pliny's time) makes us doubtful of the refined taste of the Roman table, since swine, wild and tame, prepared in all sorts of ways, were at all times a favourite meal. One well-known dish, invented by Aelius Verus, was a special favourite of the *gourmet* Hadrian, and also used by Alexander Severus; it consisted of a pie of pheasant, peacocks, boar, or the udder of sows and ham.

Further, the use of emetics after meals is by no means so convincing a proof of gluttony or intemperance, as it appears to modern ideas. Caesar was conspicuously temperate, but took an emetic after a heavy meal with Cicero, who mentions it without any disapproval; it follows, not that men com-

monly ate with bestial gluttony, but that what we now regard only as a medicine, was then a usual dietetic, like bleeding and purging with our forbears. 'Every one' says Seneca, 'knows his own bodily defects; hence one man will relieve his stomach with an emetic, or another strengthen it with good food, or another empty and purify it with a fast'. The ancient Egyptians, according to Herodotus, were the healthiest of mankind, and three days in every month used emetics and clysters; the great Greek physicians, such as Hippocrates, recommended regular vomitives and purgings, and later doctors mostly concurred, only deprecating their abuse. Asclepiades indeed utterly condemned the use of emetics in his book on health; and Celsus did not blame him for being forced into this attitude by men who took them daily; he disapproved of them as an aid to gluttony, but he knew that, as an occasional resource, they were conducive to health. So too Archigenes, a famous physician under Trajan, commends their use two or three times a month, and Galen before, rather than after meals. Pliny and Plutarch only advised emetics in actual disease. But, amongst those devotees of the belly who lived to eat, who had seven courses even when alone, knew how to prepare fine dishes and were such connoisseurs that they could tell at the first taste from which shore an oyster hailed, there may well have been many who 'vomited to eat, and ate to vomit, and did not deign to digest their repasts furnished from all parts of the world', at least under Nero, when Seneca wrote these words. But the exaggerations and generalizations of prejudiced writers do not justify a belief that this disgusting habit of daily vomits with all its evil consequences was common in wider circles, even at a time of debauchery, let alone in later days. Of the Emperors, whose habits the biographers have described to the most trifling details, Vitellius, the abnormal glutton, and Claudius are the only ones who habitually used emetics. And perhaps he was no worse than Charles V, whose 'heroics in gluttony' forced his 'horrified' doctor to recommend plenteous senna and rhubarb, after a four days' gorging.

§ 2

These considerations show that luxury at table under the Empire has been stigmatized as frightful and unnatural

only because exceptions have been taken to prove the rule, and the diatribes of the ancients against gluttony, and the facts alleged by them have been accepted without reserve, and without the qualification of the proper standard for the time. The question remains, whether, and how far, Roman luxury has been surpassed since the fall of Rome. In addition to what has been stated, the following facts will assist the argument.

In the Early Middle Ages, under the Khalifs, banquets were profuse in delicate foods and splendid appurtenances. The son of Gabryl, the physician of Haroun al Rashid, in the summer used to dine in a room cooled with snow, and in the winter in a conservatory warmed by logs of fragrant wood, and ate such luxuries as roasted fowls stuffed with almonds and pomegranate juice. At the Circumcision Feast of the son of Khalif Motawakkil the carpet was of gold-stuff, worked with jewels: on it were figures made of a paste of amber, aloes and musk; each guest had heaps of gold and silver pieces poured out before him, from which he could fill his pockets at pleasure, and, on leaving, each received a dress of honour. In Moorish Spain, with all its artistic luxury, cookery attained a high stage of refinement.

In Christian Europe and Germany the cloisters were the homes of good eating. At feasts pheasants and peacocks were favourite dishes; both are mentioned in the kitchen accounts of the eleventh century cloisters on the lake of Constance. Foreign foods and ingredients were also imported; at Hirschau under Abbot William (1069–1091) a number of foreign fishes and fruits (lemons, figs, and chestnuts) and roots such as pepper and ginger, were known and used. Peter of Clugny about 1130 complained that many monks were not content with home foods, but sought for foreign ones. And medieval barons kept a sumptuous table, having even (like Nero in his Golden House) ceilings that showered down fragrances and sugared cakes on the guests.

In France the art of cooking was well advanced in the fourteenth century, and progressed more in the fifteenth. The cooks of the famous school of Charles VII's cook Taillevent, aimed at making dishes artistically attractive, and disguising the nature of the viands. The principal course consisted of sweets, a peacock, a pheasant or swan, in its skin and feathers,

with a gilded beak, carried on a lofty dish. The peacocks were brought in to the sound of trumpets and the clapping of hands, and were a favourite roast until the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, when turkeys and pheasants supplanted them. At the marriage of Adam Geizkofler, a native of the Tirol, legal adviser to the Fuggers in 1590, six turkeys and seven peacocks were served up. In Spain, peacocks fattened with nuts were eaten in old-fashioned houses as the principal course, down to 1815.

In England the reign of Richard II was an age of luxurious food; the ordinary dinner of a man of rank at the end of the fourteenth century consisted in three courses of seven, five and six dishes each; at greater feasts eleven, nine and twelve dishes. The fifteenth century also distinguished itself in this way. When George Neville was made Archbishop of York in 1466 there was a huge banquet, at which were devoured 4,000 cold game-pies, 104 peacocks and 200 pheasants.

The greatness of Italian luxury at feasts in the fifteenth century may be illustrated by a description of the one given by Benedetto Salutati, a Florentine, grandson of the famous chancellor, and his associates, February 16, 1476, to the sons of King Ferrante in Naples. The staircase was decked with embroidered carpets and wreaths of yew; the great hall decorated with tapestries; from the canopy, which was in cloth with the colours of Aragon, two candelabras of carved and gilded wood hung down. Opposite the main entrance, on a platform covered with carpets, stood the dining-table, spread with the finest linen over a worked cover. One side was taken up by a huge sideboard, on which were set out eighty ornamental pieces of plate (besides the silver table-service), mostly of silver, some gold, and three hundred plates of various kinds, bowls, beakers and dishes. To the sound of drums and fifes the guests sat down. The *hors d'œuvre* consisted of a little dish of gilt cakes of pineapple kernels, and a little majolica bowl with a milk pudding. Eight silver dishes of capon's breast jelly, decorated with coats of arms and mottoes; and the principal guest, the Duke of Calabria, received a dish with a fountain in the middle, spraying forth a shower of orange-flower water. The first part of the banquet consisted of twelve courses of various meats, game, veal, ham, pheasants, partridges, capons, fowls, blancmange; at

the end, a huge silver dish was set before the Duke, who took off the cover and released a number of birds. On two magnificent salvers there were two peacocks, apparently alive, with tails spread, burning essence in their beaks, and the Duke's arms attached to a silk ribbon on their breasts. The second part of the feast consisted of nine courses of various sweets, tarts, marchpane, light and delicate pastry with hippocras. The wines were mostly Italian and Sicilian; between every two guests was placed a list of the fifteen brands. At the end of the banquet, every guest was handed fragrant water to wash his hands; then the cloth was removed, a large dish was put on the table, containing a mountain of green twigs which gave forth fragrant scents, whose perfume filled the hall. During the meal and after, the guests were entertained with music and a dumb-show. About an hour later, dessert was served; sugar designs in silver vessels with covers of wax and sugar, in which there were coats of arms and devices. Towards the fifth hour of the night the guests left, after having stayed nearly four hours.

In the sixteenth century, Venice perhaps indulged in the most gorgeous feasts in all Italy. In 1552 Cardinal Grimani, a nephew of Julius III (Ranuccio Farnese) gave a banquet for a hundred guests; ninety dishes were served up and the dinner lasted four hours. The Venetian burghers generally spent 400 or 500 ducats on city banquets. Not only spices and scents were lavished, but gold as well. At a breakfast to King Henry III in the apartments of the Ten, everything was of sugar, including table-cloths, covers, plates and even bread. The banqueting halls and tables were extremely artistic and splendid. Some of the centre-pieces represented white peacocks, with tails spread, quite life-like, overhung with ribbons of gold and silk of all hues and gilded sugar, with scents burning in their beaks and love-mottoes between their feet; figures in marchpane three palms high, and so forth. Songs, poems, operas and other entertainments served to enliven these banquets.

The biographer of Agostino Chigi has described three of his banquets, at which Pope Leo X was present. After one fairly modest one (it only cost 2,000 ducats), seven heavy silver dishes were missing, but Chigi forbade any search, and was surprised that so few were missing out of so many. At another

banquet given in the summer on a colonnade on the Tiber, nets were spread in the river, and after each course all the silver used was thrown in before the eyes of the guests, in order that none might be used twice; the remains were given to the numerous crowd. At the third, the Pope and twelve cardinals and other great men were present, and every guest found his arms faultlessly engraved on the silver off which he was eating, and couriers had been despatched in time to bring the best dish of his country, prepared on the spot, to each guest fresh on that day.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, according to the cookery-book of Bartolommeo Scuppi, the cook of Pius V (1566–1572), 'banquets were of four courses: the first of sugar fruits and tarts, representing the Papal arms, and filled with little birds. The rest were composed of all manner of dishes: birds in their feathers, capons cooked in bottles, fish, venison, meat, sweets in alternation, quite contrary to our culinary notions. There were dishes made with rose-water; on the same dish the most varied ingredients might be combined. The union of opposites was the triumph of culinary art. Before dessert, the cloth was removed; hands were washed; the table was covered with sugared eggs and syrups, which sent forth numbing fragrances. At the conclusion, bouquets were distributed'. Fragrances played a great part then in cooking; Montaigne, who loved them, speaks with approval of their use for meat dishes. At a visit of the Bey of Tunis to Charles V at Naples, the Bey's dishes were filled with spices so costly, that two pheasants and a peacock cost 100 ducats; when they were carved, the room and the entire palace and the neighbouring houses became redolent with a pleasant smell, that lasted some time.

Indeed, in every art and in cuisine Italy in the sixteenth century was the first nation in Europe. Montaigne says of the domestic steward of Cardinal Carafa, an Italian: 'He delivered me a lecture on the science of gorging, with a magisterial air, as though pronouncing on some great theological problem. He unravelled the differences of appetite; how a man feels before the meal, and after the second, and after the third course; how these various states of feeling may be artificially satisfied and excited. He discussed the management of sauces; first generally; and then, in particular, on the

qualities and effects of the ingredients ; the difference of salads according to the season, and which should be served up warm and which cold ; how they should be dressed, to make them pleasant to the eye. And he lost himself in deep and beautiful thoughts on the arrangement of the table, and used a rich and splendid vocabulary, such as befits a statesman, speaking on affairs of State '.

In the sixteenth century French cooking also had made great advances ; but, under Louis XIV ' French cookery legislated for all Europe '. Substantially it was founded by Taillevent, but owed much to Italy ; nevertheless, it still seemed imperfect to contemporaries. Of its variety a *menu* may testify at a banquet given by Louvois, the Minister of War of Louis XIV, to the dauphin and several other members of the Royal family : 11 *potages différents*, 11 *entrées*, 13 *hors d'œuvres pour le premier service*, 24 *plats d'entremets*, 11 *hors d'œuvres de légumes, d'omelettes, de crêmes, de foie gras et de truffes*. The dessert is not mentioned. The feast given by Superintendent Foucquet on August 17, 1661, at his Castle of Vaux to the King cost 120,000 livres. It was arranged by the famous cook Vatel. 80 tables and 30 buffets were put up, 120 dozen serviettes were used and 500 dozen silver plates, 36 dozen silver dishes, and plate of massive gold. Afterwards, Molière's *Les Fâcheux* was played in the garden, Molière himself acting. It concluded with a magnificent display of fireworks. Mme. de Sévigné's account of Vatel's suicide in April, 1671, shows the importance attached to cooks and their art. The feast given by the great Condé to Louis XIV at Chantilly cost 180,000 livres (the fireworks alone coming to 16,000), but there were some trifling mishaps ; the sea-fish ordered from all the harbours did not arrive in time ; and thus ' the great Vatel, this genius, who could have borne all the burdens of State, would not survive his imagined disgrace ; and stabbed himself '. He is the ancestor of the long line of great French chefs, inscribed by History on her rolls : an honour which in imperial Rome's greatest days of luxury fell to gladiators and charioteers, but never to cooks.

Under Louis XV the cuisine was already at its height ; connoisseurs say, at its best towards the end of his reign ; according to others, not until Louis XVI. In 1873 all Paris talked for a whole fortnight of a supper given by the *gourmet*

Grimod de la Reynière (junior) for twenty-two people. Of the nine courses, each consisted of one kind of meat, prepared in twenty-two different fashions.

Anyhow, the eighteenth century was the age of 'great cooking and cooks', one of whom was Marin, the *chef* of Prince Soubise, the author of the *Dons de Comus* (with a preface by the learned Jesuit Father Brumoy, translator of the *Théâtre des Grecs*, 1748). The *chef de cuisine* in great houses had a whole host of assistants. The *maître d'hôtel* presided over the service at table in rich garb, a sword at his side, a diamond-ring on his finger, a pouch of perfumed snuff in his hand; sometimes he had to state that his master had spent 100,000 *écus* in the past year. One single dinner given by Soubise to the King and the court cost over 80,000 livres. Many recipes went by the name of great personages who designed them. In Prince Condé's kitchen 120 pheasants a week were consumed; 152 *hommes de bouche* travelled in advance of the Duke de Penthièvre, when he went to open the States of Burgundy.

The Regency, if not the time of the best cooking, was that of the greatest gorging: nobody thought of anything else, according to a contemporary. In the middle of the tables of that day were huge mountains of meat, and pyramids of game and birds; a whole young boar, a roast loin of veal with three fowls and six doves round it, a haunch of venison with all kinds of game, a great sturgeon with mullet. In Law's time this extravagance reached its height. 100 pistoles would be paid for a litre of peas. In Lent, 1720, the butchers' supplies were unequal to the demand. At one Parisian lady's table an ox, two calves, six wethers, etc., were consumed every day.

Fashions of table decoration varied much, from artistically arranged and ornamented centre-pieces, to imitation flower-beds in clay planted with cut flowers, or designs of buildings, statues, and landscapes. A certain Carade invented a hoar-frost which melted in the heated room and made 'the river thaw, the trees turn green, the flowers bloom, and spring follow on winter'. Under Louis XVI 'sableurs' used coloured sand or marble-dust, powdered glass and sugar, and fashioned Persian carpet patterns with marvellous rapidity before the guests came in, to vanish at a breath or a drop of water.

The Revolution scarcely affected this luxury; under the

Directory extravagance was as great as ever. Barras is said to have had mushrooms brought from the mouth of the Rhône by express messenger, and Danton gave banquets at 400 francs per cover.

German Society, as in all else, imitated France in the arrangement of the table. Lady Montagu, when at Vienna in 1716, often dined with the aristocracy off more than fifty dishes, all of silver, and dessert on the finest china on the same scale; eighteen choice wines, of which lists lay on the table, were handed round. But even amongst the middle class of that time of poverty luxury at the table was common. 'For an ordinary friendly dinner', says a writer of 1730, 'five or six delicate dishes suffice; a banquet requires 12–16 courses without reckoning the dessert; for a private individual to give 50–80 dishes is snobbery. For men of rank and ministers of Stateit is different'. About 1780 in Vienna, the middle class, the lower Court officials, merchants, artists and superior artisans regularly dined on 6, 8 or 10 dishes with 2, 3 or 4 sorts of wines. The *menu* of a dinner given at the investiture of Superintendent Deyling at Leipzig on August 13, 1721, unmistakably shows French influence. At the high table guests 24 in number, including the evangelical clerics, the Council and the *Rector Magnificus*, sat down to a first course of seven dishes: venison pies, partridge-soup, boiled trout, wild rosemary with butter-sauce, *biranges*, *pistachios*, horse-radish, Hamburg meat and beans, two legs of mutton, two craw-fish tarts. The second course consisted of five dishes: pork with six pheasants, a whole deer roasted, a pig's head with ox-tongue, salads, and two *Babtis*-tarts. The arrangement followed a previous plan. At three tables of four and twenty persons, where the pastors sat, six dishes each were served. The lady superintendent also had the following menu for six: a turkey pie, a haunch of venison with two roasted partridges, boiled trout and a currant tart. The twelve musicians and 32 waiters had four dishes each. The sweets consumed were: at the first table, 30 almond tarts, 30 meat-tarts, and 30 dishes of confectionery; at the other three tables, a basket of sweets, an almond tart, a meat tart; and at the lady superintendent's table, fruit as well. Three pails and six cans of Rhine wine, one pail of old Rhine wine, two casks of Wurzen beer, three-eighths of a cask of Lobgünn beer were drunk. This was

certainly at the cost of the city, but gives an idea of how the average rich citizen of Leipzig then lived.

But in all Germany luxury was at its height at Hamburg; a writer of 1780 calls it 'excessive'. T. H. Voss has written an idyll on a 'rustic' supper given by a merchant of Hamburg in 1778. He first describes the *Canditor* table design, a rich landscape with figures of men and animals, and then the dishes, of which twelve were ready on the table: 'some cold, and some simmering on marble, and hot dishes in silver receptacles'. The menu was: pheasants and Indian bird's-nests and *azia*, young turkeys and soy, trout boiled in wine, cod with oyster-sauce, a sucking-pig in jelly, partridge-pie from Bordeaux stuffed with truffles, different vegetables, and fresh herrings, lobsters, Elbe salmon, Paderborn ham, Göttingen sausages, a *ragout* of scollops, lambs' tongues, pineapples and capers, a haunch of Harz venison, a hare, a red grouse, ortolans, a rich dessert, including apricots and peaches from Potsdam. The wines were comparatively few: Rhine wine of the sixties, Pontac and Burgundy, Silleri, Tokay, and Cape wine. At Hamburg, according to the same authority, it was the rule to have a special wine for every course, not only at feasts, but at the ordinary meals in wealthy households: 'malaga for fresh beans (often costing a ducat a dish) and fresh herrings, burgundy with fresh peas, champagne with oysters, port or Madeira with costly salted fish'.

Examples of Sarmatian luxury with its crude excess, massive but tasteless gorgeousness and boundless extravagance are found in the feasts of the Polish nobles of the eighteenth century under Stanislaus Augustus at Warsaw. In 1789 Prince Charles Radziwill gave one of the most splendid. Four thousand invitations were issued. In the hall, where the King dined, all the dishes were of gold; in three others transformed into one, there was a long table with magnificent silver plate of Augsburg filigree work; the long sideboards were also filled with silver; the carpets and liveries were equally gorgeous. The fare was plenteous, beginning with oysters specially transported from Hamburg: some hundred dishes of them were consumed. The cost of the banquet was about 1,000,000 marks.

Potemkin's feasts perhaps surpassed all. The extravagant luxury of fare and service render them almost fabulous. At

a banquet given to Catharine on April 1, 1791, at St. Petersburg, the Court expended 16,000 pounds of wax for candles, and 70,000 roubles worth of wax in addition was brought from Moscow. The winter garden was six times as large as that in the Imperial Palace, was laid with artificial grass, gravel paths, fruit-trees with glass fruit, jasmine bushes, mirrored grottoes, an *eau de lavande* fountain, an obelisk of crystals and precious stones; in the grass were nests of singing-birds, and bowls of gold-fish, lanterns shaped like pine-apples and melons, and a temple with six columns supporting a statue of the empress. About 3,000 guests were invited: many thousand roubles were given to the people; the ballet masters La Pica and Canziani received 5,000 and 6,000 roubles. The estimate of 200,000 roubles for the whole is far too low.

In North America luxury at table was also great: in 1775, when paper money still stood high, in Philadelphia £800 was spent on pastry alone.

The tradition of the cuisine of the eighteenth century was followed in the nineteenth, especially by the gastronomes of France. In 1803 Grimod de la Reynière's *Almanac des Gourmands* appeared, and sold enormously, called by the Duke of York 'the pleasantest book published'. Macaulay knew much of the eight volumes by heart and amused his guests by quoting, e.g., that oysters weary after the sixth dozen, or dishes '*du potage brûlant tel qu'il doit être* down to '*biscuit d'ivrogne*'. In France Talleyrand's house was *la première maison dînante*, and the dinners at the Foreign Office in the Rue de Varennes were, according to Carême, only equalled by those of the chancellor Cambacères. According to Kotzebue (1804) the latter consisted of 70–80 dishes, which a Lucullus or Apicius would not have disdained. The cooks were worthy descendants of their predecessors, were equally valued, and as convinced of their high importance to society. The Marquis de Cussy, the Court supervisor of Napoleon's kitchen, boasted of knowing 365 ways of cooking a fowl. Antoine Carême refused the post of *chef* to George IV at a clear salary of £500, full disposition of the kitchen money, fifteen holidays a month, and a pension. He dedicated his work on *French Cookery in the nineteenth century* to Lady Morgan, who in her book on France had glorified a dinner given under his supervision by Baroness Rothschild on July 6, 1829, and said that many

epics required less genius than one such dinner. In his dedication he said something more than wealth inflamed him. At all times some disinterested men had sacrificed all to develop art or industry. Enough for him if his great work lightens the heavy labours of the cook.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the expense lavished on meals was as great as ever. Macaulay in 1833 found the Annual Fishmongers' Company Dinner only fairly good; formerly it had cost £10 10*s.* a head.

The importance of gastronomy a generation ago is proved by a large gastronomic literature with classics in Grimod de la Reynière, Rumohr and Brillat-Savarin, who are more easily paralleled in Greek antiquity than in Roman. Even a Byron condescended to devote a series of stanzas to a banquet.

Luxury in food then increased from 1800–1850, and the gigantic progress of commerce since then has developed it yet more. On February 5, 1877, at a banquet given at the Berlin Exhibition of Cookery, some of the dishes were: Périgord truffles, Cancale oysters, Volga caviar, trout from the Lake of Garda, sturgeons from the Black Sea, elk buttocks from the Forest of Bialowicz, Indian bird's-nests from Bombay, sea-crawfish from Ostend, snipe from the Pyrenees, Scotch partridges, Florentine quails, Italian pears, Tyrolese apples, Spanish grapes. Zola in his *Pot-Bouille* describes the dinners at the Café Anglais, at 300 francs a head, consisting of delicacies of every clime; a 'royal choice' of wines, and unseasonable and costly foods, partridges in July and peaches in December. But Chinese cookery seems to pride itself even more on distant delicacies, transported with difficulty; at least a Hong Kong dinner on March 6, 1877, is thus reported: ·'one kind of mushroom came from the South Polar Ocean, whale sinews from the Arctic, shark-fins from the South Seas, and bird's-nests such as only occur in one cave in one island'.

A tirade against luxury and exotic delicacies were much more justified now than in the days of Varro, Sallust, Pliny and Seneca; an Apicius would feel small at a modern banquet of a modern capital!

II. THE IMPORTATION AND USE OF EDIBLE ANIMALS AND PLANTS

§ 1

Luxury in food, both in Roman and modern times, was not merely deleterious or useless; it caused the importation of foreign plants and animals into the countries of the West, improved the standard of living, and so helped to spread and promote civilization.

Even under the Republic many of the animals and vegetables for the tables of the rich were grown in Italy. Uncompromising opponents indeed censured both the acclimatization and the purchase of foreign fish and birds. Under Tiberius Optatus Elipertius, Praefect of the Fleet, succeeded in breeding a fish, the Scarus, found in the seas between Rhodes and Crete, on the Italian coast between Ostia and Campania. In Pliny's time it was plentiful; he says: 'Gluttony has then secured its delicacies by sowing the seas, and giving them new inmates; one need not be astonished if foreign birds breed in Rome'. Making a profit out of luxury in food the severest censurers did not disapprove; Varro even gave careful instructions for artificial breeding of game, birds, fish and shell-fish, including exotic ones, such as the African guinea-fowls, Gaulish and Spanish hares and rabbits, Illyrian and African snails.

And, according to Pliny, it was greed of gain and not gluttony that made Sergius Orata invent an oyster-bed in the Lucrine lake, though others, before him, had unsuccessfully attempted artificial breeding. Aristotle says that some Chians from Pyrrha in Lesbos had taken living oysters and put them in similar spots in their own seas. After some time, they grew bigger, but did not fertilize. Outside Italy, ancient oyster-beds have only been found at Bordeaux. But what was then the speculation of a few is now an important livelihood for whole districts, and a considerable part of the revenue, as well as a problem deemed worthy of the serious efforts of naturalists. The French Government actively subsidizes a flourishing oyster-trade by artificial breeding, as perfected by Coste; in the Lago di Fusaro primitive methods still obtain and prosper.

The animals acclimatized by luxury in Italy were mostly birds. The peacock, which Hortensius was the first to eat

as a roast, had been long known. The increasing demand led to peacock-breeding as a farm industry. The little islands off Italy, even in Varro's days, were turned into peacock-isles, and peacock farms were laid out on the Continent as well. In Athenaeus' time Rome teemed with peacocks. The guinea-fowl (*Numidica, gallina Africana*) was already eaten in Varro's time, but rare in Italy and expensive; in Martial's day it was common in the larger poultry-yards. As early as Ptolemy Euergetes II pheasants were imported from Media (i.e., from the South Caspian countries) to Alexandria, but are not mentioned as Roman delicacies either by Varro or Horace; they were not introduced until the beginning of the Empire. They are always spoken of as imported from a distance; but Martial expressly states they were bred in Italy by 90 A.D.; the same was the case with flamingoes, which, however, are rarely referred to; Apicius may have initiated their consumption, or, anyhow, made their excellent tongues well known.

Poultry-yards are quite within the means of the small cultivator, but in Italy were on a larger scale. To-day too 'the Romance peoples in accordance with locality and tradition are the greatest eaters and breeders of birds.' 'In Italy during the Roman period there could be no talk of abundance of game, as in the German forests, and the Northern moors, whence distance and the warm climate forbade the transport of big game and large birds. Thus the Romans had to be content with artificially rearing delicate birds to a more or less complete state of domestication, but all on an immense scale. Modern attempts at breeding have not followed this example; though the wilderness in modern Europe has been continuously driven further back, railways now bring the slaughtered game from distant deserts with lightning rapidity to the centres of consumption: the Paris market fetches its partridges from Algeria and Northern Russia'.

More extensive than the importation of animals to Italy was the acclimatization of fruit trees and vegetables, which thence spread to other countries. But here again later antiquity only followed in the tracks of early antiquity, and further extended the foreign plantations, thus, in the course of the ages, transforming the vegetation of South and Central Europe.

Grapes were grown in Italy from the earliest times; but the Greek colonies on the coast must have fostered them; the

vine ' flourished so abundantly on the hills of Lower Italy, that Sophocles in the fifth century B.C. could call Italy the favourite land of Bacchus '. Olives, too, were a Greek importation ; if Pliny's statement from Fenestella, the chronicler, be correct, dating from the time of the Tarquins. But the fig is probably as old as Greek colonization. In Varro's time, Chian, Lydian, Chalcidian, African and other foreign figs had been introduced into Rome. Under Tiberius Syrian figs were transplanted to Italy. Cato already knew of the almond as the ' Greek nut ', and perhaps, also of the chestnut (*nux calva*) : ' in any case, the want of a settled nomenclature forbids the assumption of a general cultivation of these trees in Italy of that epoch '. Virgil is the first to mention chestnuts ; and Varro and Cicero walnuts (iu-glandes) ; the name '*amygdalum*' first came in under Augustus. Cato mentions the plum only once ; it was commonly cultivated under Augustus. Pliny mentions a confusing number of varieties, and says that the best, the Damascene, had long been grown in Italy, and another Syrian sort only recently. Pomegranates were common in Italy in Cato's time ; and quinces (which the Greeks derived from Crete) were also old in Italy. Cherries were unknown to Cato, and Lucullus first imported them from Pontus to Rome ; Varro mentions them once, and later authors frequently. This cherry was a novelty in Italy, and may have been a larger, better, and juicier morello cherry ; wild sweet cherries (*prunus avium*) were indigenous, for remains of them can be clearly traced in the pile-dwellings in the valley of the Po ; a superior kind of cherry was cultivated in Asia Minor as early as King Lysimachus. ' Both sorts were rapidly propagated, imported largely from Asia, grafted on to the native wild stock, and a number of cross-species produced '.

As to flowers, ' the Oriental garden-rose came in with the Greek colonies, and with it the lily as well ', thence to be exported everywhere. ' Besides roses, lilies, violets, the Eastern crocus (indigenous in Cilicia) were found in Roman gardens '. ' But crocuses were foreign still ; their cultivation a great feat, like that of casia, incense, myrrh, with which Columella puts them. According to Pliny saffron did not do well in Italy ', though often found. Of edible plants of the East, Cato does not mention the *medica* and the *cytisus* ; Varro does : they must have been introduced in the intervening century.

Thus Italy, even in the last centuries B.C., and the ancient world generally, must have been 'an artificial garden'. Varro already could call Italy a great orchard, while the elder Greeks (from the Peloponnesian War down to Alexandrian times) 'knew the peninsula as a country northern and primitive in character, in comparison with their own and the East, producing mainly corn, cattle and wood. Now, in the stead of vast barren forests and wildernesses with their produce of wood, pitch, game and pasturage, there were plantations of oriental fruit trees; in the stead of the old flesh and pulse diet, the delicious fruits of the South and the East. The factors of this change were largely Asiatic slaves and freedmen, Syrians, Jews, Phoenicians and Cilicians; horticulture and delight in the quiet, gentle occupation of training and tending plants were an old inheritance of the Aramaic stock'.

The increasing commerce under Augustus naturally augmented the stock of foreign plants. Columella says that Italian industry raised in Italy nearly all the fruits of the world. Amongst the plants imported in the Early Empire were, perhaps, the African lotus, Ascalon shalots, certainly peach-almonds, and peach-nut apples (planted and imported by Sextus Papirius, consul in 36 A.D., from Africa and Syria), the *colocasia* from Egypt, Syrian radishes, East Indian millet (Syrian radishes shortly before Pliny wrote, and the millet at least ten years before); rice and maize only came in about 1500. 'By about 50 A.D. industrious gardeners had planted apricots and peaches, and charged a high price for their first Persian apples and Armenian plums'. Pistachio nuts and other garden fruits were transplanted from Syria to his estate near Alba by Lucius Vitellius, the father of the Emperor and legate in Syria under Tiberius. Melons were imported in the first century of our era into the gardens of Naples from the oases on the Oxus and Jaxartes; Pliny describes the wonderful new Campanian *melopepones*, Later imperial biographers call them *melones*. It is doubtful whether the carob tree was naturalized in Roman times. But the citron tree, which produced the medical apples (*arbor citri, citrus medica cedra*), which were admired as the fruit of the Hesperides, was really acclimatized in Italy in the course of the first centuries. Pliny mentions unsuccessful attempts to transport trees in clay or perforated tubs to Italy; but Florentinus (about 200 A.D.)

speaks of citrons being grown in hot-houses, walled off, as at the present time in upper Italy, towards the North, and covered with mats in the winter; and Palladius (in the fourth or fifth century) saw citron-trees growing in the open in Sardinia and Naples, on specially good soil. And the latest ingenious and learned investigator, who sees in the Empire only a period of rapid and irremediable decay, acknowledges 'the progress in many less obvious branches of human activity, such as the exchange and utilization of the natural products of the most various countries'. The lemon and bitter orange came in in the time of the Crusades, the sweet orange (*portogallo*) through the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and the mandarin in the nineteenth from China.

The cultivation of fruit and vegetables, and the development of their varieties seemed to Pliny to have reached the limit of possibility in the Early Empire. From his point of view, he should have condemned the acclimatizing of foreign growths, as much as he did disapprove their commercial importation (e.g., pepper from India). But he never does, partly because the opponents of luxury preferred vegetarian to meat diet, and hence were more tolerant of the development of varieties of plants; partly because to censure the centuries of useful industry in this direction seemed ridiculous. The use extreme luxury was to make of acclimatization was not as yet suspected. One example out of modern times may suffice. In 1806 the *Almanac des Gourmands* announced as a triumph of civilization that real *maraschino* had been made in France. A manufacturer at Grasse had transplanted the cherry-tree grown at Zara for the purpose; after fifteen years' costly experiments he had acclimatized it; and the new *maraschino* was pronounced better by connoisseurs than the Dalmatian. The same man had himself fetched a root used in distilling from England, and grown it at Grasse. 'Blessed', says the writer, 'be this industrious and intelligent citizen, who combines his own interest with the common weal, increases the enjoyments of the most spoiled palates and promotes the prosperity of his home. This is patriotism *in excelsis*. M. Fargeon is a patriot in the most honourable sense, a word degraded by the civism of our Republican revolutionaries, and rehabilitated under the Restoration'.

But if Pliny condoned acclimatization, he would not alto-

gether sanction artificial gardens and orchards, on the ground that every advance was a step away from Nature, and, therefore, made the unnaturalness of these growths more apparent. He recognizes that improvement of edible plants and fruits conferred a benefit even on birds and wild animals, but complains of the fruit being taken from the poor in consequence of the 'adulterous conjunctions of trees'; grafting being brought to such a point that the revenue from a fruit tree near Rome (2,000 sesterces, £21 3s.) exceeded that from an estate in former times. And if we allow fruit to be grown so large, so flavoured, and so strangely shaped as to be beyond the reach of the poor, 'must differences be invented even in vegetables, and must wealth introduce grades in dishes that only cost an *as*? Must asparagus be grown so thick, as to be too thick for the poor man's table? Nature let wild asparagus grow, which any one might reap; artificial kinds are now to be seen, and at Ravenna three weigh a pound'. 'What monstrous gluttony!' Even the most profitable cultivations could only be spoken of with a sense of shame; little fields of artichokes (*cardui*) near Carthage, and Corduba bring in 6,000 sesterces a year (£65 5s.): 'we even utilize for the table the monstrous products of the soil, which the cattle disdain'. Nay, more; they are manured, flavoured with vinegar and thin honey and other condiments, so as to have artichokes every day. Although horticulture excited then all this wonderment, compared with modern times, its achievements were meagre. In the great nursery gardens near London about 1828 there were 435 sorts of salads, 261 kinds of peas, 240 species of potatoes, and so on in every article. The prices now obtained are also higher. At a Rothschild dinner in London the dessert alone cost £100. Truffles in ancient times were not liked; the black species was unknown; in France of to-day it is more and more extensively cultivated and exported, and is called the black diamond. In 1865 the export was 104,000 pounds to Russia, England and America, in 1866 120,000; in 1867 140,000. One Carpentras firm in 1832 disposed of 15,000, and in 1866 of 109,000. Incidentally narcotic luxuries may be mentioned. On tobacco from 1882–1883 Germany spent £15,650,000 (and £17,250,000 on the army); in England in some cases £5 a day is spent on cigars.

§ 2

Up to now, we have spoken of Italian horticulture only. But, as the centre of a world Empire, it spread these plants further and further afield, and transformed the vegetation and the diet of the provinces. Attempts at acclimatization of all sorts were constantly made, as Galen shows, when he says that plants if removed only two *stadia*, change somewhat, and the same grapes give different wines at different places. The same is remarked on nutritive plants in economic and botanical treatises. Fruit trees crossed the Alps surprisingly fast. In 47 A.D. cherries were grown in Britain, four years after the conquest, and 120 after the first plantation in Italy; in Belgica (between the Seine, the Saône, the Rhône, the Rhine and the German Ocean) and on the banks of the Rhine Lusitanian cherries were considered the best in Pliny's time. Lucius Vitellius first grew pistachio nuts in Italy and his comrade-in-arms, the knight Pompeius Flaccus, acclimatized them in Spain. In Pliny and Columella's time a large kind of spring cherry was being produced in Provence. A *casia* grown for its fragrance in Pliny's time flourished 'on the marge of the Empire, washed by the Rhine', planted in bee-gardens. A shady tree newly acclimatized at Boulogne, was probably not, as Pliny says, the plane but the Northern maple. Germany, too, which Tacitus considered too cold for fruit growing, is indebted for its flourishing orchards to the initiative of the Romans, like England and France.

The most important result of these plantations was the spread of vines and olives. 'When the Roman Empire was defined, its boundaries became almost the boundaries of oil and wine'. But the olive and the vine only advanced slowly at the expense of butter and beer. The progress of Greek and Roman civilization was marked 'by the spread of the noble olive from her home in the south-east corner of the Mediterranean over all the countries where it is now found'. From Marseilles it spread to the Northern frontier, and on to the Ligurian coasts: in the low-lying marshy ground near the estuary of the Po, it could not flourish, but prospered in Illyria and Liburnia; and Istrian oil competed with that from Southern Spain. Into Spain the olive advanced with civilization.

The vine was able to make itself at home much farther North. 'Columella quotes Saserna, an older agricultural writer, as

saying the climate had changed, for realms formerly too cold for vines and olives now had enough of both and to spare'. But the climate had not changed, but their cultivation had spread north, in the course of the centuries; whilst, in modern times, the vine has receded from the north, e.g., the north of France, England, Brandenburg, West Prussia, where it was no longer profitable. From the shores of the Adriatic the grape climbed the slopes of the Euganean hills and the southern declivities of the Alps; Cato praises the wines of Raetia (Tyrolese and Valtelline). In North Africa the Phoenicians had introduced it, Islam destroyed it. According to Strabo, Spain lacked vines, olives and figs almost entirely, except in the south and the east, on the north because of the cold, and in the interior, because of the barbarous inhabitants. The Lusitanians drank beer, and wine was rare there, though already penetrating into the home of port; in Pliny's time Spain was still mainly a beer-drinking country. An imperial official of equestrian rank was appointed in Baetica (Granada, Andalusia and Seville) 'to plant Falernian'. In Gaul Marseilles was the starting-point; the colonies of Marseilles spread vines east and west along the coast, and inland; in the interests of Italian vineyards the Romans soon had to curtail the export of Gallic wine and oil. Immediately after the conquest of Gaul, Caesar began Romanizing the province; there were only imported wine and native beer, and Strabo says the wine is not good, beyond the land of figs and olives, and towards the Cévennes. But in Pliny and Columella, we have 'modern France as an independent wine-producing country, with various brands and exports and plantations of its vines into Italy': they mention Burgundian and Bordeaux wines. During the Empire the vine spread over the valleys of the Garonne, the Marne and all along the Moselle, into Switzerland (an inscription in confirmation has been found on the North shore of the Lake of Geneva near St. Prex between Rolle and Morges) but was scarce on the left bank of the Rhine, and non-existent on the right bank. Probus is said to have allowed free vine-growing in Gaul, Spain or Britain, or perhaps Gaul, Pannonia and Moesia. It was planted on the southern slopes of the Carpathians, on Mount Alma near Sirmium (Mitrovicz) and was the beginning of Hungarian vintage. One hundred years later, Claudian writes of the 'vine-shaded Danube'. But, in anti-

quity, Italy remained the first of vine-lands. Now it is Central and Southern France, and it is in places close to the northern limit of its extension (Burgundy, Johannisberg) that the vine produces its best wine.

Thus, in the Roman Empire, influences could meet and work, which completed the process of assimilation and produced a homogeneous cultivation of the soil in all the Mediterranean countries. Central Europe has to acknowledge its debt to the South in this direction as in 'all sources of our civilization'; and we must not forget that the much maligned Empire played no small part in this great work.

III. LUXURY OF DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Luxury in dress at this time took a different direction than in the Middle Ages and now. The slight extent of manufacture meant a paucity of rare stuffs. The oldest clothing was wool, though linen garments were worn by women, even in the Republic, whilst men at its close and later used fine linen mainly for handkerchiefs. Linen tunics were common in Rome by the third century. The finest linen, or *byssus*, came from Egypt, Syria and Cilicia. East Indian cotton (Sanskrit *Karpāsā*, *carbasus*) was imported to Rome after the Asiatic Wars (191 B.C.), if not before, and muslin was perhaps also in use for clothes. Chinese silk was at first imported only as yarn and raw, but finished articles were broken up, dyed, and woven with linen or cotton into a light half-silk substance. These transparent and gay half-silk dresses were worn in the first century by women and effeminate men: very much later the increase of commerce with the East brought heavy pure silks into Europe; Elagabalus was the first man to wear them. Satin and velvet were unknown in antiquity; satin (*Atlas* in German, from the Arabic for 'smooth') was an importation from the time of the Saracen supremacy. Together with silk, the similarly Oriental extravagance of silk garments with gold worked in spread, but gold embroidery was found only in carpets, curtains, coverlets and triumphal dresses, or trimmings or insertions in women's clothes. Clothes made of gold and silver stuffs, so common in modern times, were rare in antiquity. The mantle of 'pure woven gold', worn by Agrippina at the naumachy on Lake Fucinus was unexampled, men-

tioned as such by Pliny and Dio and Tacitus : whereas Charles the Bold at the Battle of Granson took with him 400 cases of silver and gold stuffs, including 100 gold-embroidered coats for himself. Furs were used in Italy from ancient times for particular purposes, but they were not common before the Germanic invasion of the South, and they were never extravagantly used, as in the Middle Ages. Marco Polo mentions the price of the sables, with which the halls and rooms of Kublai Khan (1214–1294) were decked, as 2,000 golden bezants, if flawless and big enough to make a dress ; if imperfect, as 1,000. To line a cloak for King John II (1350–64) 670 marten-skins were used ; one of his sons had 10,000 martens brought in to line five cloaks and five ladies' doublets. To line a dress for one of his grandsons 2,790 squirrels' skins were used. This large demand raised the prices correspondingly.

In antiquity, too, there was none of the waste of material in long trains and broad bodices, or any of those studied deformations, so common in medieval and modern fashions, such as pointed shoes, trunk-hose, hip pillows, hoop-petticoats, trains, full-bottomed wigs, which were often costly ; the ordinary wig of a distinguished man cost £7 10s. and often as much as £150. Ancient dress was both more natural and graceful, and, on the whole, fashions were much less changeable. To-day generations differ more than centuries did then. Hence the extravagance of fashion was much less than in the Middle Ages or now. Lastly, ancient dress was simpler, and consisted of fewer articles. In gloves and headgear there was no luxury ; whereas in modern Persia the headgear has to be renewed thrice or four times a year, and costs 60 ducats. All along the south-west coast of America Panama hats are worn ; they practically never wear out, but the best cost up to £50 and ordinary ones £20 or £30. And the seasons occasioned far less change of dress in the south. Some dandies, however, made absurd and trifling distinctions ; thus, Juvenal scoffs at one man who has light summer rings on his perspiring fingers, since large jewels weighed too heavily.

But the hot summer made many changes of suits necessary, as in modern Persia, and the better-dressed had a large wardrobe. Their chests of drawers contained cloaks of every colour possible. The inside of the trunks full of dinner dresses was equally gay ; and a whole tribe could have been clothed with

the *togae* of Apulian wool (Martial). Naturally, too, people often changed several times on the same day. But only one instance of this last practice is recorded, in one of Martial's *nouveaux riches*, who changed his *synthesis* (a dinner costume) eleven times at one banquet, ostensibly, because of the heat, really, to show off his extensive wardrobe. But, in modern times, an unnecessary frequent changing during the day has become common and carried to ridiculous excess. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the clergy in Germany complain of it; at the beginning of the seventeenth a wife left thirty-two full suits, and her husband Hans Meinhard von Schönberg possessed seventy-two, and about the same number of gold-embroidered gloves and twenty-one hats, to which twenty-six sets of coloured feathers belonged. Clive between 1767–1770 ordered 200 shirts, as good as could be had for love or money. Count Brühl carried this affectation to excess; would never wear a dress more than twice, and his accumulations of disused clothes became prodigious. About 1790 ladies changed wigs for every new toilette. About seventy years ago an English dandy used twenty shirts a week, twenty-four handkerchiefs, nine or ten pairs of summer trousers, thirty scarves (when not wearing black ones), a dozen waistcoats, and stockings *à la discrétion*.

Extravagance in bright costly colours, so common in the south, was found in the Roman Empire in both sexes alike. Persius makes one great dandy wear a hyacinth-coloured mantle. Martial tells of one moralist who prescribed dark grey or brown cloaks for men, and declared violet or scarlet effeminate; a hypocrite who concealed vice under a pretence of austerity. Juvenal says that the great retinue with torches and the scarlet cloak of a young noble coming home from a feast is warning enough to keep clear of him. Statius' friend, Atedius Melior, made his favourite page Glaucias always wear the most beautiful clothing, red, green or purple. Scarlet, and still more the various purples, were the most valued colours. One pound of the best Tyrian purple wool, stained twice through, cost over 1,000 *denarii* (£43 10*s*.); a less valued kind in amethyst or violet only £15. Martial says that the price of a Tyrian purple cloak of the best hue was only 10,000 sesterces (£108 3*s*.). Hence, if he intends the kind most valued in Augustus' time, prices must have sunk incredibly; Martial

can only be speaking of a second-rate sort. But the genuine purple wool, so much sought after, was also almost everlasting, and, like shawls in the East, may have been handed down for generations. But, most probably, in the Early Empire, whole purple cloaks were very rare. Generally purple was only used in stripes, for galloons, as a trimming, braid, edging, fringe or furbelow. Caesar restricted the use of whole purple garments to certain persons and certain days; Augustus permitted them only to senators holding office, when presiding at their games; and Tiberius endeavoured by his example to enforce obedience to these laws. Nero went so far as to forbid the sale of Tyrian and amethyst purple; but under Domitian, if not before, permission must have been restored. Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax had the imperial wardrobes, which must have abounded with purple robes, sold by public auction.

But the use of purple in Rome cannot be compared with modern extravagance in dress. In Italy, at the time of the Renascence 'dress was as costly as it was beautiful; the sartorial artists of that time would have looked with contempt upon those of modern times, for real artists worked at that time of artistic development; they worked with the finest velvet, silk, and gold embroidery, whilst painters designed the colours, the folds and the shapes. Hence dress was a thing upon which, as an essential of appearance, the greatest value was placed'. Hence the chroniclers of the great feasts of that time describe very exactly the garments of the great men and women. At a famous tourney given by Lorenzo de' Medici on the Piazza Santa Croce, which on his own statement cost 10,000 gold florins, the dresses were splendid: that of Giuliano de' Medici cost 8,000 ducats. Benedetto Salutati used 168 pounds of silver at sixteen ducats a pound on his horse's trappings, and the jewellery on it was valued at 8,000 ducats. But love of art went with this extravagance: his silver helmet was made by Antonio del Pollajuolo. In the dowry of Lucrezia Borgia at her betrothal with Alfonso d'Este (1501) were comprised, according to a report of the agent of Marchese Gonzaga to his master, a trimmed dress worth more than 15,000 ducats, 200 expensive shirts, some worth 100 ducats apiece, each sleeve with its golden fringes costing thirty ducats. Another writer values one single dress of the bride at 20,000, and one hat at 10,000 ducats. Very great importance attached

to fine dress. The two ambassadors of Venice at this wedding had to appear before the Senate in new robes of crimson velvet with fur-trimmings and capes of similar material. More than 4,000 people stared at them in the great Council Hall and the people thronged round to see them in the Piazza di San Marco. These cloaks (twenty-eight and thirty-two yards of velvet) were the bridal gift of the ambassadors to Duchess Lucrezia.

In the second half of the fifteenth century extravagance on dress in Germany became 'incredible'. According to Geiler von Kaisersberg many a burgher's wife carried on her back, in clothes and jewellery, more than 300 or 400 florins' worth, and had at home over 3,000 worth. In England in Elizabeth's reign, according to a contemporary account, it was quite a common thing for a thousand oaks and a hundred oxen to go to the restoration of a costume, and for a fop to carry his fortune on his back. Towards the end of the sixteenth century extravagance in dress was increased by lace-trimming, embroidery and gold borders, jewellery and pearls: and prices went up tremendously: and £90 might be earned on a single dress. One dress of Marshal Bassompierre was embroidered so richly as to cost over £2,100. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries extravagance in dress was scarcely less. At the procession of Queen Christina of Sweden into Rome in 1655, the dresses of the Roman ladies who received her cost 500,000 to 600,000 scudi, and that of the Princess di Rossano 700,000 When the Infanta Maria Teresa Antoinette, the Dauphin's betrothed, entered Paris (1745), the dresses were so expensive that they were only hired. Marquis de Mirepoix hired three for 6,000 *livres*, and only wore one a day: in one gala-coat of Marquis de Stainville, of silver stuff embroidered with gold, the marten's skins for the lining alone cost 25,000 *livres* and so forth. A fashionable lady of that time bought a dress she had ordered and could not afford, on the terms of an annuity of 600 *livres*, and made a contract to have a new dress supplied every day for 24,000 *livres* a year. In France from the Regency to the Revolution the fancy for laces amounted to a passion, even with men; solemn men of all ages were seen with 15,000 or 20,000 *livres* worth of laces on their scarves, frills and cuffs. The lace alb *à point à l'aiguille* worn by the Elector of Trèves John Philip (1756–68) on State occasions at Versailles was valued at 100,000 *livres*. Northern extravagance in dress con-

sisted mainly in wasting valuable materials, furs and jewellery especially. In the splendid dress worn by Adam Rzewuski at his farewell audience of the King as ambassador at Copenhagen, the saddle of his horse is said to have been worth 45,000 gold florins (£20,250). The price of a pair of sable skins in the eighteenth century rose to over 170 roubles, and one skin is sometimes said to have cost 20,000. The value of Potemkin's gala costume inset with jewels is given as 200,000 roubles.

The nineteenth century is, on the whole, apart from extraordinary occasions, the period of least extravagance in male, but probably not in female dress, as is shown by the price of a cashmere shawl (£300), the lace veil of a rich bride (£735), the furs of Empress Eugénie (sent to England after her in 1870) 600,000 francs, or the fabulous expenses of the queens of fashion in the great capitals. And perhaps never before have the artistic ladies' tailors earned as much and ranked as high as under Napoleon III in France, when all the greatest ladies were at their feet. Compared with the *toilettes* of the second Empire, those of the first, when the most elegant ladies (Mme. de Savary and Mme de Maret) spent only 50,000 to 60,000 francs a year, seem almost paltry.

In Roman antiquity extravagance in oriental stuffs and manufactures, used for adornment in the widest sense, such as silk, *byssus*, jewellery, pearls, scents, was at any rate confined to women, and to a very small circle amongst them. Pliny probably bases on the returns of the frontier customs his statement that in no one year was less than 55 million sesterces' worth of Indian goods imported into the Empire (about £600,000), and that about 100 millions (£1,087,500) at the least annually left the Empire in exchange for Arabian, Chinese and Indian goods: 'our women and amours are very expensive!' But if this reflection implies that not all Asiatic oriental luxuries have been mentioned, but only those specially used for female adornment, this import would seem quite small, if entirely met with this outlay: the patriotic irritation at seeing so much money go annually into foreign, even hostile countries, would be quite justified. For there was no corresponding production of gold to the outflow, and the continuous export of centuries doubtless contributed to the decline in Roman money in the third century. True, thirty years ago, the export of metal to Asia, besides a considerable export of

goods, was on the average twelve times as much as in Pliny's time (£13,666,666,) According to Johann von Horneck, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 'those bloodsuckers of Austria', woollen, linen and French wares, withdrew at least fifteen to twenty million florins annually (and silk goods seven million and French goods three million). By about 1750 France was selling Germany sixty-seven million livres' worth of silk and fineries alone; in 1853 her export to England in silk amounted to sixty-three million thalers, and five times as much to America, and twenty-one million thalers for Paris articles (bronzes, trinkets, clocks, fancy goods, passementerie work, marquetry, instruments, etc.).

Compared with modern commerce, the use of Asiatic *articles de luxe* in the entire Roman Empire seems astonishingly slight, even allowing for Pliny's statement of outlay being less than the reality, as the frontier customs increased the price, and the purchasing-value of money may have been higher. For the prices of single oriental products were very high, higher than now. Silk as late as 250 A.D. was weighed with gold (a fact mentioned in Chinese literature); a Roman pound of betel nut oil might cost 400 (£17 8*s*.), a pound of cinnamon, 1,500 *denarii* (£65 2*s*. 6*d*.); some pearls cost millions of sesterces. One shop in the Via Sacra or Forum Pacis might easily contain oriental imports of this value. And Roman prices were centuple, according to Pliny, of the cost price; and the frontier-tolls augmented considerably the cost of transport: on this higher estimate the whole import mentioned by Pliny must amount to 100 millions. If it cost no more, all the luxury in oriental wares must have been confined to Rome and a few great cities, a view confirmed by some remarks of Galen (*circa* 200). He says that silk could be found 'on rich ladies' at many places in the Empire, especially in the great cities, and specifies nard as one of the essences 'made for Rome's rich women'. In the fourth century wholly different commercial relations spread the use of silk amongst all classes.

But perhaps Pliny only wanted to state how much bullion was withdrawn from the Empire by trade with the East. For some Chinese statistics of the land of Ta-Tsin (Syria) seem to show that no small part of the import from Asia was covered by export from the West. The longest of these lists comprises sixty articles, characteristic industries of the mar-

kets of Syria, Phoenicia and Alexandria. To them belong the products of Ta-Tsin (according to a Chinese author, far better than Babylonian goods) with worked and embroidered animals, men, trees, clouds, etc., in different colours; glass-ware (especially coloured), which was popular in China down to the beginning of the fifth century, after which date the Chinese began to learn the craft from Syrians or Indians and to manufacture for themselves; all the metals found in the Roman Empire; gold pigment and realgar (specialities of Syria); jewellery (including corals and amber), of which the best were brought by merchants from Ta-Tsin, and, finally, drugs. The greater the export of these wares the higher must have been the value and quantity of the import into the Roman Empire. But as Galen's expressions imply a small trade, it may have developed after the beginning of the third century.

Extravagance in pearls and jewellery came into Rome after Pompey's triumph over Mithridates. Diamonds, though esteemed in Rome the most costly of jewels, were scarcely used as ornaments ,except rarely in rings. The diamond handed to Trajan by Nerva as heir-designate, and by Trajan to Hadrian, was apparently not set in a ring: but one diamond-ring, the talk of Juvenal's time, was given to Berenice, Queen of the Jews and mistress of Titus, by her brother Agrippa. Emeralds ranked next. According to Pliny the best came from Scythia, as now, from the mines of the Ural and Altai. The third in order were beryls and opals, and were largely worn by women; and fourth, the sardonyx, which was very suitable for seal-rings: Pliny, on the authority of the ladies, maintains this hierarchy of stones. In their estimate of the diamond, the Romans imitated the Indians, whereas the Persians, in the thirteenth century, ranked it fifth, after the pearl, the ruby, the emerald, and the chrysolith. Benvenuto Cellini places it after the ruby and the emerald, and only worth an eighth of the ruby. Garcia de Orta (1565) declares the diamond the king of jewels for hardness, but the ruby first in value and beauty, and the emerald second. Up to the sixteenth century the emerald was very costly (Benvenuto Cellini makes it 400 *scudi d'oro* the carat): but it sank in price after the large Peruvian exports; and, with the complete cessation of these, has risen again: a perfect emerald is the most costly of all jewels in the London market.

Very little is known of the price of jewels in Roman antiquity. The emerald into which an amymone was cut, and which the flutist Ismenias bought for four gold pieces, must have been a chrysopras. Incised emeralds hardly occur before Hadrian's day: the best are said to have been portraits of himself and Sabina. Possibly Hadrian had a preference for this stone and thus caused it to be more eagerly sought in its principal home (Jebel Zaburah in Egypt). The price of a jasper-ring with which a statue of a woman in South Spain was decked by her son, is given as 7,000 sesterces; this implies a cut stone. The senator Struma Nonius owned a ring with an opal in it as big as a filbert; Antony proscribed him for it; he fled, taking with him the ring alone of all his possessions. It was apparently valued at 2 million sesterces (£21,250).

Pliny speaks at large and expertly on the imitation of jewels, and of manuals containing instructions for making false emeralds out of coloured crystal, and sardonyx out of carnelian; he says it is one of the most profitable of fraudulent industries. There was a correspondingly perfect science of testing the genuineness of jewels, in more than one way. Out of the very many ancient forgeries in coloured glass, the glass emerald stands out; it is much harder, brighter and better coloured than modern pastes, and is still often sold as genuine by jewellers. Besides, imitation jewels were no doubt often honestly made for sale among the poorer classes.

The worst and most censured extravagance was the ladies' love of pearls, which commanded higher prices than any other jewels. This use of pearls as ornaments spread after the conquest of Alexandria, which exported the fisheries in the Persian gulf and the Indian Ocean mainly to Rome. This incessant import may have accumulated pearls in Rome, as in Venice of the sixteenth century, when the Patrician ladies possessed vast hoards of them, the result of the past commerce with Ormuz on the Persian Gulf and all the other Eastern lands which Venice had so long exploited. The prohibitions of the *Provveditori delle Pompe* (sumptuary magistrates appointed in 1514) were aimed principally at this form of extravagance. At the present time Russia is the country richest in pearls: in the one monastery of Tróitsa, on priests' vestments, episcopal robes, altar and grave cloths, there are more than in all

the rest of Europe: in some governments every peasant wears on her head and neck 200 to 300, often 1,000 and more, genuine pearls; in Nizhni Nóvgorod the poorest fishwife owns at least two or three necklaces. Nero even could build whole rooms of pearls for amorous dalliance (these were probably in the Golden House, and their walls covered with pearls). Roman ladies wore them as ear-rings; and, according to Pliny, poor women copied the example, as a big pearl in one's ear was as good as a lictor to lead the way; pearls were also used on shoes, not merely on the straps, but whole slippers were set with them. The cost must have been very great: Seneca may well be right in saying women sometimes carried two or three fortunes in their ears. There is no further information. Julius Caesar at his first consulate in 59 B.C., when pearls were rare at Rome, bought one for six million sesterces (£65,250) for Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus Servilia; but a love-present from the first man in the State, desirous of creating an impression by his extravagance, is no criterion of the average price, any more than what Pliny tells of one of Caligula's wives, Lollia Paulina. He had seen her at a modest betrothal festivity, with an ornament of emeralds and pearls, covering head, hair, ears, neck and fingers, and worth forty million sesterces (£400,000 or £450,000), as she proved by documentary evidence. But it was not a gift from the Emperor, but an inheritance from the spoils of her grandfather Marcus Lollius in the East: Lollius' notoriety had brought him into disfavour with Gaius Caesar, who compelled him in 2 B.C. to poison himself.

The enormous hoards of jewels in the families of the men who could control the treasuries of Eastern despots, can only be compared with the jewellery owned by the Spanish *conquistadores* of the sixteenth and the English nabobs of the eighteenth century. Cortes' wedding-gift to his bride in 1529 consisted of five jewels cut by skilled Mexican jewellers out of emeralds, and artistically adorned with pearls and gold: for one of them a Genoese merchant at Seville had offered 40,000 ducats. It all was lost in a shipwreck on the expedition against Algiers in 1541. Nadir Shah's booty, on the capture of Delhi, consisted mainly of jewels, and was valued in Europe at £70,000,000. Clive, who rambled freely in the vaults of Murshadabad amid heaps of gold and jewels, with liberty to take what he would, showed great moderation: but his purchases

of diamonds at Madras alone amounted to £25,000, and a jewel-case belonging to his wife was valued at £200,000. Lady Clive probably owned more jewellery than the greatest princesses of her day. Sophia Charlotte at her coronation as Queen of Prussia in 1701 wore jewels worth over a million thalers. The famous necklace which cost Marie Antoinette so dear only cost 1,600,000 francs. In the modern Orient extravagance is still rife in pearls and jewellery, and was enormous under the Khalifs. In Persia, besides other ornaments, women wear bracelets on arms and feet of pearls, and noble ladies a diamond egrette as well; sash-buckles set with jewels often are worth 1,000 to 2,000 ducats, and saddles and harness are laden with gold, pearls and jewels. Fifteen or sixteen rings, five or six on each finger are worn, and the Shah is the greatest owner of diamonds in the world.

In medieval Europe, pearls were used to embroider texts of songs on clothes, and there was great luxury in jewellery; most of all at the Court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. His robe of State was set with pearls and precious stones, and valued at 200,000 ducats; his consort's ladies-in-waiting received 400,000 Brabant thalers a year for ornaments. But this extravagance increased after the discovery of America. Maria de' Medici at her son's baptism in 1606 had a bridal dress made, set with 3,200 pearls and 3,000 diamonds, and worth 60,000 *écus*, but too heavy to be ever worn. In the inventory of Meinhard von Schönberg (who died in 1625) the pearls alone filled two closely written folio pages; fifteen large pearls were sold for 3,286 florins. Imitation pearls were first made by Jacquin at Paris in 1680; the annual export is now £40,000.

How far luxury in dress and ornament were prevalent among the lower classes in antiquity, how far the semi-civilized custom of the South obtained of carrying some of one's reserve property on one's back, is hardly known at all. But the long gold chains which the Roman barmaids wore on their bare necks must have been as genuine as the gold ornaments of women and girls of the lower classes in modern Italy. The amber necklaces which Pliny the Elder saw worn by Lombard peasants North of the Po, partly as amulets against swellings of the neck, can hardly have been costly.

Extravagance in scents has always been endemic in the East.

Arabia, as Herodotus knew, was the land most fertile in fragrances, and from the earliest ages a fondness for perfumes was general. In the Book of Esther, we read, 'When every maid's turn was come to go in to King Ahasuerus, after that she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, to wit, six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odours, and with other things for the purifying of the womb)'. The Talmud says the bride may lawfully thus spend a tenth of her dowry. In Rome this form of luxury came in not direct from the East, but from Magna Graecia. Under the Empire, it was only common at Rome and in the larger cities. According to Pliny, a Roman lady so plentifully scented herself that attention was drawn to her approach, if for no other cause, for the fragrance that streamed from her hair and clothes. The same is true of Arabian ladies of rank. Pliny thought this extravagance all the sillier for being momentary, and, if anything, altruistic. Men, too, made much use of scents, mainly balsam and cinnamon. Domitian's favourite, Crispinus, smelt stronger in the morning than two funerals. So too at the Renascence. Alfonso d'Avalos, the cousin of the Marquis di Pescara, could not do without scents, even in time of war; his horse's saddles even reeked of them. Mention has been made of the great cost of fragrances in ancient Rome. Martial is in doubt whether he shall give Phyllis 'ten yellow-boys from the imperial mint' (about £10 10*s.*) or one pound from the shops of Cosmos or Niceros, the famous dealers in salves and essences. At these shops noble ladies' accounts may have been as high as that of Marion de Lormes, who owed her *parfumeur* £7,500 by the end of one year. The use of scents at funerals will be referred to later.

But Roman or modern luxury of this kind does not approach the oriental. In the apartments of rich Arabs at the time of the Khalifs, and on reception days especially, stood casks of strong musk or burning aloes. Even the most austere sticklers took care to follow the example of the Prophet, who only loved women and fragrances, and were always well perfumed. Before and after meals clothes were held over a censer, or the guests bent over it. Neither flowers with a strong smell nor perfumes might be absent from the table; they were worth their weight in gold and given as a costly gift. In rich homes there were

always in stock the principal varieties (such as ambergris, aloes, musk, camphor, amber, and mixtures such as civet). In the early Khalifate Irak and Persia commanded the market; and Persian rose-water was exported as far as China and Spain; later, as in all luxuries, Moorish Spain secured the field. To this day Arabian ladies spend £100 a year on perfumes.

The scanty and casual information extant on Roman luxury in dress prevents any final pronouncement. It does not authorize any assumption that ancient luxury exceeded modern, rather, on the other hand, that, as in all else, modern luxury is far greater.

IV. LUXURY IN DWELLING-HOUSES

(*a*) City Palaces

Luxurious inner fittings of houses first come into evidence in the interval between the first and second Punic wars, if not before; there were then houses decorated with 'citrus-wood, ivory and Punic floors'. But luxurious buildings only came in about 100 B.C., up to which date the houses of the nobles even were simple and inexpensive. Sulla (born in 138), as a young man, felt the pinch of circumstances, and lived in the ground floor (which was considered the best), for which he paid 3,000 sesterces (£26 5*s*.) rent; a freedman occupied the upper story at 2,000 a year (£17 8*s*.). Travertine stone came more and more into use for houses and frontages during this century, marble being almost unknown. Even in 92 B.C. after so many victories in Greece and the East, which abounded in marble columns, there were none in any Roman public building. Hence the Censor Lucius Crassus, one of the first men of the State, irritated public feeling by decking his house on the Palatine with four (or perhaps six or ten) columns of marble from Hymettus, which had been intended for the theatre built in his aedileship. His co-censor Gnaeus Domitius censured him sharply, and Marcus Brutus nicknamed him the Palatine Venus. Crassus' house was mainly valuable for a garden with six fine old lotus trees, worth 3 millions of the total 6 millions, i.e., more than £50,000, as money then stood; but the houses of Quintus Catulus (consul in 102 B.C. and conqueror of the Cimbri), on the Palatine, and of the knight and jurisconsult Gaius

Aquilius (on the Viminal) were far superior, Aquilius' being considered the finest in Rome. In 78 the house of the Consul Marcus Lepidus was deemed the finest; its threshold of *giallo antico* (a Numidian marble unknown before in Rome) caused much talk.

But thirty-five years later there were over a hundred finer houses in Rome. Pliny regards this marvellously rapid growth of splendour as doubly foolish, considering the shortness of life, and one of the wonders in the history of Rome. Wonderful rather was the long backwardness in this respect of the capital of the world; in other flourishing cities (see Macaulay on the progress of English towns since 1700) private magnificence came in more gradually: in Rome in one generation. Those thirty-five years from the consulate of Lepidus and the death of Sulla to the murder of Caesar (78–44) witnessed the largest acquisitions in East and West. It was the time of the wars of Quintus Metellus Creticus, Publius Servilius Isauricus, Pompey and Lucullus in the East, and Julius Caesar in Gaul: the Empire was enlarged by the provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, Crete, Cilicia and Syria. Generals, officers, officials, business men (e.g., Pompey's freedman Demetrius, who amassed 4,000 talents or £943,050) gained huge fortunes: partly spent on magnificent public buildings, even on temporary ones, such as Scaurus' gorgeous theatre in 58 B.C. But this magnificence also spread rapidly to private buildings. The largest of the 360 pillars, all 35 feet high, which had adorned his stage, Scaurus set up in the atrium of his house on the Palatine: they were of dark marble from Melos, first introduced by Lucullus and named after him. The first owner of a house (on Mount Caelius) consisting only of marble columns, and monoliths of green-veined *cipollino* from Carystus in Euboea, and marble from Carrara, was the Knight Mamurra of Formiae, Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul. As Pliny says, his house was a more eloquent satire on his shameless plunderings in Gaul than Catullus' verses. He was also the first who introduced Alexandrian incrustation. Sallust could tell of palaces laid out on the scale of towns. Together with the number of buildings the areal value and the rents rose (the ground of the forum built by Caesar in the busiest part cost 100 millions, £877,050) and, as compared with the other cities of Italy, four times as much. Caelius lived in a modest fashion (according to Cicero)

in a house owned by Clodius for 10,000 sesterces (£87 15*s*.): his accusers alleged three times the rent, to convict him of extravagance and raise prices for Clodius. Cicero bought his house on the Palatine from Crassus for 3½ millions (£30,696 15*s*.), and, on his return from exile, the Senate offered him 2 millions compensation for the ruined house; the areal value may, therefore, be reckoned at 1½ millions (43 per cent. of the whole sum).

The battle of Actium heralded another great building era at Rome, owing to the feeling of security after the general peace, the growing prosperity and population, the influx of capital, and also because of Augustus' strenuous endeavour to make Rome a worthy capital of the world, to turn a city of brick into a city of marble. The marble quarries of Carrara, which Vitruvius does not mention, were regularly exploited towards the end of Augustus' reign; blocks of marble from there and other materials were landed at Ostia and floated up to Rome.

The poems of Horace, Tibullus and Propertius teem with the impressions of witnesses of this great luxury in building, and friends of the former simplicity. The 'novel' *atria* of great palaces were imposingly tall; perhaps Scaurus' *atrium* was the first of them: it was 38 (Roman) feet high, whereas Crassus' *atrium* had been only twelve; a standard of the difference between the palace and the citizen's home; other dimensions must have correspondingly increased. In these *atria*, pillars of Phrygian marble (with spots of violet; *pavonazzetto*) aroused envy. Beams of white stone from Hymettus pressed down on columns of reddish-yellow marble with green veins, and of serpentine, quarried out in Numidia, Euboea or Taenarum. On gilded soffits (seen for the first time in the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter after the destruction of Carthage) ivory glittered. Between the gay columns in the yards stood bushes and groups of trees, fountains splashed, and purple awnings stretched from one capital to another shielded off the sun, and cast a red shimmer on the pavement or the moss. Under Sulla mosaic must have been very usual in Rome: Caesar took mosaics with him on campaign to spread in his tent. The directions of Vitruvius for the building of a great house correspond very well with the descriptions of Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus. Vitruvius says that for nobles royal lofty

vestibules, spacious *atria* and peristyles, parks and roomy, gorgeous avenues, libraries, picture galleries, *basilicae* must be laid out on the same scale as in public buildings. The palace of Augustus' friend, the Knight Vedius Pollio, covered 'inside its walls more space than many a town': its site was occupied afterwards by the Colonnade of Livia. And in smaller dwellings, e.g., at Pompeii, the number of apartments for separate purposes was considerable, though the rooms and the total area were small.

From Augustus to the death of Nero, extravagance in palaces tended to increase, as the great families vied in princely splendour; the economies of Vespasian's reign could not prevent monuments of gorgeousness arising equal to the old. Towards the close of Tiberius' reign, Valerius Maximus says that a palace with its appurtenances (i.e., garden), only four acres in extent, was considered small. This may seem exaggerated, but Velleius Paterculus is strictly accurate in saying a man living in a house under 6,000 sesterces a year (£66 15*s.*) is hardly recognized as a senator. This statement is a reminder not to dwell overmuch on the generality of rich homes, as in a modern capital no similarly highly-placed man would pay less than three or four times that sum. In 1462 Venetian nobles paid 50 to 120 ducats (600 to 1,440 francs); in 1658 the Venetian ambassador paid for his house at Paris 400 *doppie* (4,400 francs): in modern currency both amounts would be greater. The wife of the Russian ambassador at Vienna in 1852 paid about £450. Bismarck as Federal representative at Frankfort in 1851 paid the small sum (for Frankfort) of 4,500 florins, and at St. Petersburg for the furnished Hôtel Stenbock 7,000 roubles a year, and the Duke of Ossuna for his, 12,000. In 1863 there were in Paris 9,985 rate-payers, with houses from 4,000 to 8,000 francs a year; 1,413 houses cost 10,000 to 25,000 francs a year; and some 400 even more.

As both Seneca and Sallust say that city palaces were as large as towns or country estates, it is not known whether palaces increased in size after the time of Tiberius. These rhetorical exaggerations are at least to some extent justified by the architecture of large Roman houses. There was only one floor in the centre, and sometimes at the sides as well, and they occupied a comparatively large area with their gardens and parks and outhouses, such as Vitruvius mentions, foun-

tains, baths, colonnades and roads; and with all the magnificence, accommodation may have been scant. Martial calls the Petilian Palace, where his patron Sparsus lived, a kingdom: it was a *rus in urbe* with long walks and a vintage as good as on a Falernian hill. In Violentilla's palace the gables rested on countless pillars, old groves cooled the air, living fountains played in marble basins, and it was cool in the dog days and mild in the winter.

What the price of such houses was at Rome, we do not know. Martial mentions a figure of 100,000 sesterces; but only a small plain house could have been had at this price, and no fine house for double. For, according to Juvenal, a bath might cost 600,000, and a covered drive more; these figures are not too high, perhaps too low, for Fronto (who was not a rich senator) spent 350,000 on a bath; the description of the bath of Claudius Etruscus also bears this out.

But one form of luxury, unexampled in the history of architecture, was common, namely, decoration. The use of coloured marble for columns, and the ancient Asiatic fashion of covering the walls with bright sorts of stone and other costly materials, began under Augustus. Vitruvius knows nothing of this; Seneca is the first to fulminate against the extravagance of 'walls glistening with large and expensive circular pieces of marble, with Alexandrian blocks contrasting with Numidian'. Besides this fashion of inlaying, under Claudius pieces were cut out of blocks, and the hollows filled in with other stones; thus animals or other objects could be drawn; in Pliny's phrase, 'they could paint in stone'. Two of these marble incrustations have been found on the Palatine. Under Nero, fancy marbles were produced by laying in bright veins and druses in tablets of other kinds of coloured stones.

But the wasteful use of valuable and rare kinds of coloured stone became very general during the first century. In one refectory built by Caligula's freedman Callistus, Pliny saw thirty columns of oriental alabaster; four smaller columns of the same stone had been put up by Cornelius Balbus in his theatre under Augustus, as a curiosity. With the new countries gained, the Romans could exploit more quarries. Thus the ridges in the Arabian Desert of Egypt, at Jebel Duchan, yielded them porphyry, Jebel Fatiteh granite, Hamamet the Egyptian *breccia*, so much in favour at Rome, and Jebel

Urakan, the honey-coloured Oriental alabaster. But the two first quarries were only opened under Claudius, and, no doubt, many others in the course of the Empire, e.g., the Numidian under Marcus Aurelius. The extant remains imply more than forty sources of Roman luxurious architecture. In the splendid small bath built by Claudius Etruscus, according to Statius, the ordinary costly marbles were disdained, such as Thasian, Carystian, Ophite and onyx alabaster. Green Laconian Serpentine was only tolerated, in order to be a setting for inlaid blocks of white violet-spotted Synnadian *pavonazzetto* in long flutings; there was also a snow-white Phoenician marble, of which Pliny knows nothing. The arched roofs gleamed with gay pictures in glass mosaic; the water sprang up into silver basins through silver pipes; the bath was edged in with marble and the water flowed in so clear that the bottom could be seen; the room for playing at ball had its floor warmed from beneath. Other passages in Statius and Martial prove the generality of this luxury in coloured stones. According to Statius, Violentilla's palace gleamed with African, Phrygian and Laconian stone, onyx and marble, as bright as purple and the sea. According to Martial, a rich man builds *thermae* of Carystian, Synnadian, Numidian and Laconian marble. Hadrian's reign may have been the zenith of this extravagance, but the fashion lasted down to the end of the Empire; the villas and Domitian's palace will be described presently.

About thirty years ago the discovery of the ancient warehouse of marble at the harbour at the foot of the Aventine gave a new and surprising idea of the wealth in marble of Imperial Rome. About 1,000 blocks and columns, mainly of coloured species for architecture, were found there. The great fire of 64 A.D. may have been the occasion of this great accumulation, which was, however, only a part of the imperial stock, containing imports from Asia, Africa and Greece, and not all of these, and none from Egypt or Carrara. This store was used up to about 200 A.D.; what is left is what was not wanted for the buildings of the Flavian and Antonine periods. The scanty relics of the marble decorations of the imperial palaces, still give the spectator some idea of their magnificence. In the provinces, in addition to the native quarries, Carrara and Greek were also extensively drawn upon. The walls of Roman

villas near Zürich are still breast-high, covered with well-carved blocks of Jura marble, and the richer villas and the baths at Baden with Italian marble as well. In the garden of the archiepiscopal palace at Narbonne magnificent ruins, with marble from the Pyrenees, Africa, Carrara and Greece recall the whilom glory of Narbo, the city of Mars; and at Vienne there also are considerable remains of various foreign marbles.

The use of glass for decorative purposes was also carried to excess quite early. Seneca speaks of arched roofs hidden by plate-glass. The foundations of Rome are sown with panes of glass and relics of floor and wall decorations, artistic and carved. At Veii a floor of compact glass of the size of the room was found. Glass cut like cameo in two colours (like the Portland Vase) is still to be seen in the ruins of the walls it once adorned. There are also fragments of real painting on glass. Pliny mentions as a new invention the use of glass mosaics to decorate ceilings; and also speaks of walls covered with plates of gold; a form of luxury that reached its height in Nero's Golden House. In the seventeenth century (according to Vacca) a room was found on the Aventine, the walls of which were hidden behind gilded bronze tiles with incrusted medallions, and (on the authority of Bartoldi) on the Palatine a room incrusted with plates of silver, in which still more costly ornamentations must once have been set. Other inventions of gorgeousness in architecture must date from Nero's reign, such as movable soffits, especially in banqueting-rooms, which changed for every course. Sometimes, to point the contrast, these same palaces would contain so-called 'poor apartments', artificially simple.

Yet all this splendour was nothing in comparison with the fairy splendour of the palaces of Caligula and Nero, which, according to Pliny, 'embraced the whole city'. Of Caligula's little is known. Nero's Golden House, recommenced after the fire of 64 A.D., covered 50 hectares: the Romans were invited in a satire to remove to Veii anew, as Rome was all filled up, before it extended to Veii as well. It lay on the Velia, the Esquiline and the valleys in between; on the Esquiline it adjoined the imperial gardens of Maecenas, and was cut through by several streets. In the forecourt stood a colossal statue of Nero more than 100 feet high. The palace contained triple colonnades a Roman mile long; a pond, 'as

big as a sea' (on which the Flavian Amphitheatre was afterwards built), surrounded with buildings like a town; country seats with vineyards, meadows and woods, stocked with beasts, tame and wild. The apartments were gilded over, and decorated with jewels and mother-of-pearl; the 'love-chambers' were decked with pearls. The finest sculptures from Greece and Asia Minor were used to decorate. Of the artists employed in the work Pliny mentions a painter Fabullus, who was famous for his bright colours. Remains of painted walls, hidden below the *thermae* of Titus and Trajan, are in a style like the last Pompeian, but better and more sustained, as well as in the framed pictures and decorations, which inspired the grotesques of Raphael and Giovanni da' Udine. New discoveries and inventions were applied; a temple to Fortuna was built of a stone found in Cappadocia, so transparent that it was light with the doors shut. The ivory tiles on the ceilings of the banqueting-rooms could be shifted, so as to shower down flowers on the guests, or scents from pipes. The main banqueting-room was domed and turned day and night round its axis. The baths contained both sea and mineral waters. When the palace was habitable, Nero, on entering, expressed his satisfaction, and said he could now live like a man. Otho granted 50 millions (about £550,000) towards completing it. Vitellius thought what was as yet built unworthy of an emperor; but Vespasian had the greater part demolished and replaced by public pleasure resorts. The amphitheatre supplanted the pond, and Titus' *thermae* were built on the Esquiline. The Colossus of Nero Vespasian transformed into that of a Sun-god: the pedestal is still extant.

Of the later Emperors, Domitian distinguished himself by his palaces. Plutarch says that in Domitian's Temple of Capitoline Jove (the fourth) the gilding cost over 12,000 talents (£2,750,000); but any one who had seen a single colonnade, basilica, bath, or mistress-room in the palace, would be bound to call Domitian a Midas whose touch turned everything into gold. The ceiling of the banqueting-hall, of enormous span, with a huge opening to let in the light, rested, according to Statius' panegyric, on few columns, but those strong enough to support the heavens. Numidian, Synnadian, Chian, Carystian marble vied together and granite from Syene; only the pedestals were of Carrara marble; and the height was

such that the weary eye could hardly reach up to the gilded soffits.

(*b*) Villas and Gardens

§ 1

In the City herself building was restricted by the small area and the high price of ground; but on their huge estates the grandees' passion for building could be indulged without limitation. The unhealthiness of Rome in the summer and early autumn made country-life a delight and a necessity; and large properties gave, even in the later Republic, a choice of pleasant residences. The increase of villas made the price of suitable sites rise. Lucullus paid for Marius' villa at Misenum 2,500,000 *denarii*: it had been bought by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, for 75,000: the enhancement of the price must have been due to improvements.

After the battle of Actium the building-fever gained ground all over Italy. Soon, thought Horace, will the princely demesnes leave but little land for the plough; everywhere artificial lakes, larger than the Lucrine Lake, will extend, and the plane supplant the elm with its graftings of vines; in the stead of fertile olives, there will be shady myrtle and laurel groves and fragrant violet-beds, and in the place of natural turf colonnades to ward off the sun and north wind. Further, senators by a series of *senatus consulta* and imperial decrees were frequently compelled to invest in Italian land; the number of villas consequently increased. In the heat of the summer they might repair to their homes in the Sabine or Alban hills for fresh air; in the spring or late autumn to the soothing warmth of Southern Italy; or they might enjoy the beautiful splendour of the Gulf of Naples, or forget the bustle of Rome in the retirement of the plane-groves of Upper Italy. Everywhere, country houses or palaces were ready to receive them. Pliny the Younger, who was not very rich, owned properties in Etruria (near Tifernum Tiberinum), near Comum, Beneventum, villas on Lake Como, and an estate near Laurentum. His contemporary, the famous orator Regulus, who was worth over 60 million sesterces (£650,000), owned properties in Umbria, Etruria, near Tusculum and in the Campagna near the road to Tibur.

The luxury of villas was often heightened by difficulties of building. Sallust speaks of the wealth squandered on houses jutting into the sea, or on mountain plateaus. Statius says of the villa of Pollius Felix near Surrentum that Nature had been made subservient to man. 'Where you now see a plain, there was a hill; where you go under cover, was a wilderness; where you see lofty trees, there was no soil: here the stones obey, the palace advances, and the mountain retreats'. Sea-rocks were grown with vines for the Nereids to pluck at night-time. In the villa on the Lago di Fusaro, in which Servilius Vatia, a rich man of Praetorian rank, vegetated away his last days, there were two artificial caves, hollowed out with great labour, as large as the largest *atria*, the one never seen by the sun, the other in sunshine all day long. A canal from the sea to the lake of Acheron passes through an avenue of planes: here they fished, when the sea was too rough. The villa had all the amenities and none of the disadvantages of Baiae.

The predilection for the sea, and the desire of enjoying it close at hand produced many expensive water-palaces, the walls of which, as Ovid says, thrust back the blue waves. Horace also repeatedly speaks of the quarry-stone rocks in the sea. 'On any little bay', says Seneca, 'you lay your foundation and create fresh soil'. The remains of the palaces of the sea near Antium and elsewhere can still be seen in the water. There were also similar buildings on the provincial coasts. On the estates of the rich sophist Damianus of Ephesos on the sea, there were artificial islands and dams, where merchantmen could anchor. His town houses were partly like city residences and partly in grottoes, and all his country estates teemed with shady fruit trees.

There are almost contemporary accounts of villas gorgeous and modest from Pliny the Younger and Statius. Pliny's Laurentine and Tuscan villas were on healthy and beautiful sites, the one on the sea, the other in the valley of the Tiber on a slope of the Apennines, with apartments suitable for every season, and wonderful and various views from all the windows. The furnishing was comfortable and bright, without extravagance. Except for four small columns of Carystian marble, which supported a vine in the Tuscan villa, there was only white marble (and that only in small quantities), or the walls were

decorated with simple paintings; in the Laurentine villa the openings in two covered walks were closed with isinglass-stone, and there was no fountain (in the Tuscan villa there were several). The gardens had only the usual plants and trees, which would grow well, violets, box, rosemary, vines, mulberries, figs in the one, and, in the other, roses, acanthus, box, vines, laurels, planes (some overgrown with ivy) and cypresses.

One of the two villas described by Statius was built for Pollius Felix, a rich man of Puteoli, on the Punta della Calcarella between Capes Massa and Sorrento and has been mentioned to exemplify the great outlay on the foundations. The outbuildings and gardens appertaining comprised the whole coast from Marina di Puolo and the East side of Capo di Sorrento. On the shore there was a warm bath with two cupolas, temples of Neptune and of Hercules; a colonnade went along a sinuous path up to the villa. The rooms had a varied outlook on the sea and the islands. The most prominent part was a wing or hall, whence the Gulf of Naples could be seen; it was decked with bright marble from the best quarries of Greece, Asia Minor, Numidia and Egypt. Everywhere valuable pictures and sculptures of the old masters were to be seen, and portraits of philosophers, poets and generals. A few relics, such as bright marble pavements and columns, have occasionally been recovered on the coast and at Marina di Puolo.

In the estate of Manilius Vopiscus near Tibur, there were two palaces opposite each other on the two banks of the Anio, at a point where it flowed peacefully (above and below were waterfalls): the distance was so short that one could talk and almost shake hands across the stream. A dense lofty wood converged to the bank and the beshadowed water reflected the leaves. It was cool in the dog days and the July sun could not penetrate the apartments. These gleamed with gilded beams, doorposts of yellow marble, wainscotings with designs in inlaid coloured veins, costly mosaics, numerous *chef-d'œuvres* in bronze, ivory, gold and jewels by famous masters; every room had its own water-supply, and its own outlook, on ancient parks or the river; it was all peace; the bubbling stream lulled to rest. There was a warm bath on the bank. In the centre of one of the palaces stood a fine tree overtopping the

roof. An orchard, grander, according to the poet, than the gardens of Alcinous and Circe lay near the villa. Niebuhr credits the poems of Statius with reproducing the true local colouring, and being popular in Italy: they are good to read in those parts and recall the bygone splendour, formerly combined with the charm of an opulent Nature, which made the rich and great enviable.

This is perhaps most of all felt in wandering through the green wilderness of ruins that was once Hadrian's Tiburtine villa. The total surface area was about two-thirds of a square kilometer, four times as large as the Palatine. There were two palaces and other buildings, named after famous spots which Hadrian had visited. There was a Lyceum, an Academy, a *poekilē Stoa*, a *prytaneum*, a Canopus and a Tempe, and a Hades. This reminiscent nomenclature may have been common in the well-travelled aristocracy: on a property of Severus, who was especially interested in Egypt, there was a Memphis, and, on another estate, a Labyrinth. Galen tells of a rich man who transported to Italy enough Dead Sea water for a small pond. Of the villas of the later time that of the Gordians on the Praenestine Road deserves mention. It comprised a square *Tetrastylum* with 200 pillars of the same height, fifty of *giallo antico*, of *cipollino*, *pavonazzetto* and red porphyry respectively; basilicas 300 feet long, *thermae* only equalled by those at Rome, and all else on the same scale. Provincial villas will be dealt with later.

A comparison of Roman luxury in palaces, villas, parks and gardens with modern times is doubly difficult, because ancient taste had a different source and direction, and many detailed descriptions would be requisite. Only a few examples from various epochs and countries of magnificence in buildings can be given here.

Venetian palaces as early as about 1500 were the most gorgeous of Italian Renascence buildings. In a room twelve yards long, in which a great lady in the family way received visits, the mere fixtures cost 2,000 ducats (24,000 francs). About 1600 Venice contained a hundred palaces, some costing at the outset over 200,000 ducats.

Jacques Cœur's house in his native city Bourges (built in 1450, and still standing) was adjudged by a contemporary superior to any royal palace: before completion it cost 100,000

écus (8 to 10 million francs): the exterior and interior were covered with artistic sculptures, the rooms with costly tapestry and gold and silver. Amongst other magnificent private houses of the Renascence in France (mostly destroyed at the Revolution) Château Gaillon was famous; it was built by Georges d'Amboise, minister of Louis XII and archbishop of Rouen. Richelieu spent 10 millions on his castle, 'the most splendid in France before Versailles was built'. The castle and gardens at Vaux belonging to Foucquet, the minister of Louis XIV (who fell in 1661) cost 18 million livres, and was valued by Voltaire at double. The huge gardens occupied the area of three villages which Foucquet bought up. They were partly designed by Le Nôtre, and considered the most beautiful in Europe: the fountains were then thought marvellous, and the royal castles of St. Germain and Fontainebleau were not comparable with Vaux. The leaden waterpipes were afterwards sold for nearly half a million. About 1750 English gardens were made near Paris and ran away with vast sums. Hence they were called *folies*: the *folie Brumoy* ruined the Marquis de Brumoy, a tenfold millionaire. The great tax-farmer and banker Joseph de la Borde bought his *folie Méréville* for 30 millions: he had constructed in Beauce an Alpine country with waterfalls and pine-woods, a devil's bridge over an abyss, and beyond the bridge a marble Temple of Friendship.

The French country-seats of the eighteenth century were the models for the rest of Europe. At Rosswalde, near Hotzenplotz in Moravia, Count Hoditz spent 3,000,000 florins on a fairyland. Pulavy, the residence of Adam Czartoryski, was a little Versailles inside vast gardens. The immense castle of Felix Potocki at Tulczyn cost many millions, and was more like a royal palace. At the same expense, and employing 10,000 labourers, Potocki in the last ten years of his life (1795–1805) built his Sophia the castle Sofiyovska, 'an enchanted world sprung from nothing'.

Of the nineteenth century country-seats Count Pückler has described those of the English aristocracy. Woburn Abbey, belonging to the Duke of Bedford 'with its stables, riding-ground, galleries of statuary and paintings, hot-houses and gardens is a little town, a self-complete example of tasteful luxury', such as only centuries of thought could produce.

Amongst the various gardens are a huge plantation of azaleas and rhododendra ; a Chinese garden with a dairy, built like a Chinese temple, with an excess of white marble and bright glass, and a fountain in the middle. The aviary consists of a large fenced-in space and lofty plantations and a cottage, with a small pond in the centre : the countless birds (partly rare and foreign) live in oak-branches wired together, with a wire roof, and evergreens all round. The park is sixteen miles round, and Ashridge Park, the seat of the Duke of Bridgewater, twelve ; in the latter there are a thousand sorts of wild animals and countless groups of giant-trees ; the pleasure ground and the gardens are larger than in Cassiobury Park (the seat of the Earl of Essex), the upkeep of which costs £10,000 a year. Warwick Castle, which was partly burnt down on December 3, 1871, was a 'fairyland'. The rows of reception-rooms on both sides of the hall were 340 feet long. Walls 8–14 feet thick formed in every window (10-12 feet wide) a regular room, with splendid views. The English aristocracy, too, own many more country seats than the Roman grandees used to have ; in 1848 it is said one peer offered a French friend a castle of his as a refuge, which he had never seen : it was said to be very beautiful ; in expectation of his arrival the table was laid every day with twelve covers and a carriage was always kept ready.

In 1860 Paxton designed a château at Ferrières, of more than princely magnificence, for Baron Alphonse Rothschild ; 'Too great for the middle-class', said King William, who saw it in 1870. The hall looked fairy-like with its galleries all round covered with splendid carpets, and, with its 1,110 gas-jets, according to Drumont, was alone worth the journey thither, The tasteless accumulations in the inner apartments of the artistic masterpieces of all times is only 'the brutal triumph of wealth' and produces wearisomeness rather than admiration. In the Park the conservatories and aviaries are very attractive. One of the most splendid Russian castles is the palatial villa at Archangel, near Moscow, in Italian style, which Prince Yusupov bought from Prince Michael Galitsin for 6 million roubles. It stands in a broad park, with fine views on meadows and woods, has a great gallery of valuable pictures, a splendid chapel, a concert hall, a theatre seating 500, many reception-rooms with costly vases, etc. A palace at Alupka, an estate

in the Crimea belonging to Prince Woronzov, was said to have already cost 7 million roubles, and was not nearly finished when Haxthausen saw it in 1843–4. Count de Vogüé in 1886 describes it as finer than the largest palaces of the Sultan on either side of the Bosporus ' in certain points, its situation and its gardens. Only a Russian of the first half of the nineteenth century could have designed this oriental wonderland. In Russia one loves the impossible and soon tires of it '. The lofty Moorish halls and labyrinthine walks of the Park of Alupka are a wilderness. While the gorgeous English castles were the work of centuries, the Roman palaces of the empire were quite recent, only dating back to the last century B.C. But perhaps building extravagance has never been so great as from the reign of Augustus up to Vespasian. Circumstances combined to make it unparalleled. The deep Roman love of the colossal, developed by the world-dominion, could only be satisfied by the ' massive and roomy ', in both private and public buildings. The desire of representing Rome's dignity suitably, the pride of impossible obstacles surmounted, the habit fostered by slavery of realizing the moment's whim, all these were tendencies which culminated in the autocracy, but were common to all the rich and great, who regarded themselves as the lords of the earth. Julius Caesar, when poor and in debt, had a villa, recently built at great expense, pulled down, since it did not reach his expectations. Cassius Dio tells of one Sextus Marius, who, as a friend of Tiberius, attained great wealth and power, and entertained a neighbour, against whom he had a grudge, for two whole days ; during this time he had the latter's villa pulled down, and rebuilt more gorgeously, to make him dread him as a foe, but value him as a friend. Horace says, if a rich man admire the coast of Baiae, the lake and the sea at once feel the passion of the impatient architect: a new whim to-morrow, and the labourers must remove to Teanum. Strabo remarks that the ceaseless sales of houses at Rome furnished constant occasions for alteration and rebuilding. Naturally this essentially noble passion drove many into debt or bankruptcy. A valuable house, says Plutarch, makes many a man a borrower. Cetronius, says Juvenal, had the building mania, and was always erecting on the winding shores of Gaeta, the heights of Tivoli, or the hills of Palestrina, lofty villas, with marbles from Greece or distant lands, which put the Temples

of Hercules or Fortuna to shame. Thus he somewhat impoverished himself, but his son built yet costlier villas of rarer marbles and completely ruined himself. Little men also vied with the great: Horace and Martial apply to them the fable of the frog. Martial tells of a *vici magister* (district-superintendent), who competed with a consul. The consul possessed a palace four miles from the city, the other bought a plot of land at the same distance; the consul built elegant *thermae* of coloured marble, the other a bath no bigger than a kettle; the consul had a laurel plantation on his estate, the other planted a hundred chestnuts.

Such a characteristic waste of costly, coloured marbles was only possible in the capital of a world-empire, which could import by sea pillars, beams and blocks from the numerous quarries in the Mediterranean countries, which have since relapsed into a barbaric condition. But Macaulay, on visiting the Vatican Museum in 1838 could still rightly wonder that 'in our moneyed and luxurious age no one attempted to open quarries like those which supplied the ancients. The wealth of modern Europe is far greater than that of the Roman Empire; and these things are highly valued and bought at enormous prices. And yet we content ourselves with digging for them in the ruins of this old city and its suburbs, and never think of seeking them in the rocks from which the Romans extracted them'. His expectation that the French settlements in Africa, and the rule of a Bavarian prince in Greece would induce such undertakings, has only to a slight extent been fulfilled. The quarries of Numidian marble at Shimtu (Simitthu) have been reopened after a thousand years, and the blocks cut by Roman chisels are being sawn by steam-saws.

Thus Roman palaces may have been more gorgeous than English or other modern ones, but the gardens and parks were very inferior and smaller in area. Whether the Roman grandees had as much space to dispose of as the British is doubtful. According to John Bright, in 1866 half of England belonged to 150 persons, and all of Scotland to ten or twelve; the Duke of Sutherland, the greatest real owner, possessing 482,676 hectares, and the Marquis of Breadalbane being able to ride ninety miles straight through his own domain. But Roman taste delighted in artificial gardens and scenery, rather than landscape, and was not enamoured of parks; nothing was known of hot-

houses and the reproduction of the vegetation of foreign zones and climates.

And in Roman gardens, unlike the variety of the decoration of the walls, there was lacking the brightness of the modern flora. Roman luxury in flowers consisted in the extravagant use of a small variety, especially lilies, roses and violets. This was excessive and unexampled ; at a feast given by one of Nero's friends the roses cost over 4,000,000 sesterces (£43,500), and we are told of the beds and tables of Aelius Verus, consisting entirely of roses and lilies. In Varro's days, nursery gardens of roses and violets near Rome paid well, and flower beds surrounded the city, extending even as far as Campania and Paestum. Under Nero, winter-roses were in demand : they were partly shipped from Egypt, partly, like lilies, cultivated under glass. In the winter of 89–90 the number of Paestum roses in Rome was so great that all the streets were red with the cheap wreaths. Egypt, says Martial, instead of exporting us such, might have imported.

Modern Europe owes much of its splendid garden flora to the Turkish love of flowers. Stamboul originated the tulip, the fragrant syringa, the oriental hyacinth, the crown-imperial, the garden *ranunculus*, and spread them *viâ* Vienna and Venice into the West, as well as the chestnut, common laurel, and the mimosa or *acacia Farnesiana*. Carnations, at the Renascence, spread from Italy across the Alps. America brought many new varieties, the wild vine, the Peruvian capuchin-cress, the lombard or pyramidal poplar, the American plane, the North American acacia, the *Bignonia Catalpa*, tulip-tree, and South of the Alps, the magnolia and pepper-tree, etc. The Opuntian cactus and the aloe 'have completed the type of Mediterranean landscape, which derived its severe calm colour from the East, with an entirely harmonious addition '.

The great increase of artificial cross-breeding has produced a form of luxury, utterly unknown to antiquity ; and the prices paid by amateurs for rare flowers in modern times (e.g., 70,000 francs in 1838 for a bed of dahlias, £100 in 1839 for another variety in England) are only comparable to the prices paid in antiquity for rareties and amateurs' delights. Of the *Araucaria* at the Villa Pallavicini at Pegli in 1865 every species was valued at 10,000 francs, some at 30,000. James Veitch & Sons specialize in orchids and carnivorous plants, and in 1879

sent out six gardeners to the Tropics, Asia, the jungles, the swamps and woods and the heights of the Himalayas to search for new species.

V. LUXURY IN DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS

Domestic luxury in antiquity (and in some respects to this day in the South of Europe) was intermediate between our Northern standard and that of the East. It aimed not at 'comfort' (for which the Southern languages have no word), but at parading the owner's dignity as much as possible. The dwelling-rooms were but little used by day, and sparsely furnished according to our ideas; but the lofty and large reception-rooms, intended for the crowds of morning visitors and evening banqueters, contained relatively few articles, but very costly and mainly decorative, e.g., tables of citrus wood with ivory legs, sofas inlaid with tortoise-shell or ornamented with gold and silver, Babylonian carpets, splendid vases of Corinthian bronze and *murra*, Aeginetan candelabra, sideboards with old silver, statues and paintings by famous artists.

Of several articles of luxurious furniture, the prices are extant; they are always very high, and sometimes enormous. Aeginetan candelabra were bought at 25,000 sesterces, or even twice that sum. *Murra* was a material the ancients did not understand, coming from the East, as valuable as gold, and first introduced by Pompey after the conquest of Mithridates: it was probably some form of agate; *murra* vases worth 300,000 (£3,262 10*s*.) were in private hands. Nero had a drinking-cup made which cost a million. Comparable is the price given for porcelain in the eighteenth century: Count Brühl owned a service worth a million thalers. In Paris 20,000 *livres* for a service of Saxon porcelain was a large sum, yet there are some vases now which are worth £750. Many Romans also had a mania for rock-crystals; Pliny says 'some years ago, a lady of moderate means bought a rock-crystal wine scoop for 150,000 sesterces' (£1,631 8*s*.). Under Nero two small artistic goblets of novel workmanship were sold at 6,000 (£65 5*s*.). The passion for wrought silver dates back to 200 B.C. Lucius Crassus the orator (consul in 95) possessed dishes

worth 6,000 sesterces a pound, the craftsmanship costing twenty times as much as the material; in Martial's time 5,000 a pound was considered a large sum. But the work, genuine or spurious, of famous artists sold for much more. Babylonian embroidered coverlets for sofas in the banqueting-hall sold in the second century B.C. at 800,000 sesterces (then worth £7,016 8*s*.); Nero had some worth four millions (£43,500). But the worst was the 'mania' for citrus-wood tables, which furnished women with a retort, when reproached by men for their love of pearls. Beautifully grained boards of *citrus* (a kind of thuja growing on the Atlas) fetched fabulous prices, as the trunks were seldom thick enough to make table-tops, though there were some with a diameter of four feet. Cicero bought a table of citrus-wood, which existed in Pliny's time, for 500,000 sesterces (then worth £4,385 5*s*.), a price Pliny thinks extraordinary at an epoch so comparatively simple and poor. Later on there were even more expensive ones, e.g., for 1,400,000 (£15,226 10*s*.): Seneca is said to have had 500 tables of citrus-wood.

All these prices are extraordinary, and, as such, recorded; the standard of comparison must be similar luxuries of later times. Evidence that the average price of luxurious furniture was much lower is afforded in a poem of Martial's, describing a snob who exaggerates the quality and cost of all he has. He buys slaves for 200,000 sesterces, drinks old vintages, has plate worth 5,000 sesterces a pound, a gilded coach worth as much as an estate, a mule bought for the price of a house, and all his not very large possessions cost a million. This sum must have been sufficient to furnish a fine house, if not a palace.

Pliny's prices are exceptional fancy prices, such as amateurs or madmen (as Pliny says) will give. Of such fashionable perversions Pliny instances Annius the Consular, who collected *murra* ware with such enthusiasm that, having bought a cup (containing 3 *sextarii*) for 700,000 (£7,612 10*s*.), he gnawed its rim so as to increase its value. Similarly in modern times rareties have fetched enormous prices 'through the insanity of a few' (as Seneca says of the Corinthian bronzes) from connoisseurs, the English especially: e.g., £600 for a *heller* of Emperor Henry VII, £2,260 (in 1812) for a decameron; in ancient times such prices were paid for historical curiosities, e.g., the lamp of Epictetus (3,000

drachmae: £117 16*s*.), the stick of Peregrinus Proteus for a talent (£235 15*s*.). But the fancy prices then paid have apparently never since been attained; this highest form of extravagance in these objects, as in some others, has remained unique.

With regard to luxury in household furniture, the greater costliness of the fewer *objets de luxe* in the Roman palaces is fully balanced by greater multiplicity and variety in the modern, especially as the cost was, and still is in some cases, enormous.

At the Renascence in Italy rooms were expensively and artistically decorated. There were richly ornamented ceilings, marble fireplaces, carpets of gilded leather, or silk and velvet, with gold and silver designs, tapestries, pictures in costly frames, magnificent carved wood furniture, heavy curtains, oriental embroideries, vessels of gilded or enamelled silver, crystal, Murano glass, and majolica, figures and articles of bronze and ivory, etc. In Venetian palaces in which internal luxury and art reached their height in the sixteenth century, the palace of Vendramin Calergi was noted for its use of valuable marbles and stones in chimney-pieces and columns, and for the ebony and ivory on the doors. In the 'Golden Room' of the Cornaro house there was a splendid chimney-piece with golden caryatides, tapestries of gold, and the gilding on the beams was valued at 18,000 *zechini*. In Wolsey's palace all the eight ante-rooms to his Audience-hall were hung with costly tapestries, which were changed every week.

In France towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV expensive furniture came in mainly through the rich business men, who filled their rooms with tapestries from Beauvais and gobelins, Boulle, Chinese and Japanese furniture, Venetian and Nüremberg mirrors, pictures by French and foreign masters, silver plate and valuable porcelain. This luxury, which increased during the Regency of Louis XV, combined comfort and good taste to the satisfaction of the utmost indulgence. In the *boudoir* of a house fitted up with most refined extravagance (1758), the walls were all covered with mirrors. Trees realistically grouped together and covered with foliage, were decorated with porcelain flowers and gilded chandeliers, which held rose and blue candles; the soft light was delicately reflected by the mirrors, some of which were shaded with gauze. Scents had been mingled with the paint on the wainscoting; thus the artificial thicket smelled of violets, jasmine and roses.

Such boudoirs were no doubt numerous at that time in Paris. Under Louis XVI extravagance in cut and gilded bronze made it almost as valuable as gold. The carving on one pedestal by the famous Gouthières was valued by the artist at 50,000 *livres* and the Comtesse du Barry owed him 756,000 *livres* at her death. In opulent houses the mere construction was only a quarter of the expense: 'all the splendour of the nation was to be seen inside'. In Beaumarchais' palace, famous for its architecture and gardens, the gorgeous show-rooms were real art galleries; his richly painted desk cost 30,000 francs. In 1796 Bonaparte had to spend on his wife's small palace, which was worth 40,000 francs, 120,000–130,000 for the furnishing. From France this passion spread. The Elector of Bavaria, Max Emanuel II (about 1700) paid 60,000-100,000 thalers for a chimney-piece and two rococo tables from Paris; the furniture in Countess Kosel's pleasure palace of Pillnitz cost 200,000 thalers.

The last decades of the nineteenth century have seen a great increase of luxury: at the Paris Exhibitions bookcases worth 25,000 francs, desks worth 10,000–15,000, were seen, and at the Berlin Industrial Exhibition of 1879 furnished rooms costing 4,000–14,000 francs. Count Pückler illustrates the splendour of English castles. The furniture of Northumberland House is worth several hundred thousands. Warwick Castle is 'a realm of past centuries', everything being 'old, splendid and original'. One could see 'the rarest and richest articles such as modern craft cannot make, and gold, silver, velvet and silk all together. The furniture consists almost entirely of ancient and splendid gilding, carved dark walnut and oak, or old French cupboards with bronze ornaments. Magnificent mosaics and inlaid wood may be seen. The art treasures were countless; the pictures nearly all by the greatest masters'. These descriptions of English castles prove that the connoisseurs of the Roman Empire never realized the reproduction of definite historical styles, by imitation or collection.

§ 2

Silver-plate, as a form of luxury, requires special mention. Tiberius forbade the use of golden plate by private individuals, except at sacrifices; Aurelian repealed the law. But Tiberius' edict was disregarded: we hear of golden plate

being used almost as often as in modern times. Great extravagance prevailed in silver plate, as well as in wrought silver articles, valuable chiefly for their antiquity and their workmanship (*caelatura*). In the Early Republic silver plate was so rare at Rome that the Carthaginian envoys found the same service at every house they dined at; conquest made it more common. The conquests of Spain (the Peru of the ancient world) in 206 brought the Cartagena silver mines under Rome's domain. According to Polybius, about 40,000 men worked there, and a net profit of 25,000 drachmae (£975) a day was obtained. Syria, Macedonia, Carthage, Corinth, Asia, Provence, and the Mithridatic campaigns supplied Rome with precious metals in abundance. The discovery of America increased the bullion of Europe from £34,000,000 to £130,000,000 by 1700, and £297,000,000 by 1800; on the smaller area of the Roman Empire this smaller importation of the precious metals operated similarly. Some few facts may illustrate the luxury in gold and silver in modern Europe.

In the fifteenth century it was already considerable. True, in Florence families lent one another their wrought silver, and brass or silver knives and forks were ordinarily used. But some individuals possessed large masses of silver and gold, e.g., Cardinal Pietro Riario in 1473 was host to the bride of the Duke of Ferrara at his palace in Rome; he exhibited four church candlesticks and two angels in gold, a praying stool with lion-shaped feet of gilded silver, a silver set of fire-irons, a silver close stool with a golden chamber, and a fresh service of silver plate for every course; in the banqueting hall was a buffet of twelve tiers full of golden and silver dishes set with jewels. In France, under Louis XII, architectural gilding and gilded silver came in; lords and prelates had plates of gilded silver or pure gold. In Germany, whose miners made her the fifteenth century Peru, Aeneas Silvius was astounded at the universal extravagance in gold and silver, and especially in armour and decorations. According to Wimpheling the rich merchants ate off dishes of silver and gold, and, on their journeys, had such dishes (weighing 30, 50, or 150 pounds) sent after them.

In the sixteenth century Guicciardini mentions the massive silver of the Flemish burgesses, and Holinshed is grieved at the introduction of silver spoons into England. Cardinal Wolsey's silver was valued at 150,000 ducats. In the seven-

teenth century under Charles II of Spain (1665–1700), in spite of the want of ready money, the quantity of silver plate was enormous. At the death of the Duke of Albuquerque, the weighing and cataloguing of his silver and gold plate took six weeks; there were 1,400 dozen plates, 500 large and 700 small dishes, 40 silver ladders (which were used in the silver cupboards). The Duke of Alba, who thought himself poor in silver ware, had 600 dozen plates and 800 silver dishes. All this came from Mexico and Peru. In England the fashion also spread. Civil and military uniforms were embroidered in gold and silver; nobles and rich citizens had mirrors and pictures in silver frames, and tables of silver plate. In France many noble families had silver worth 400,000–500,000 francs, which was valued all the more for being hidden and turning black. In 1689, Louis XIV, to meet the expenses of the war against the Great Alliance, ordered the conversion into coin of all the nobles' plates, and deprived himself of all his tables, *canapés*, candelabra, and massive silver furniture (made by the goldsmith Balin from the designs of Le Brun); they had cost ten millions and brought in three. The private contributions came to three millions. In 1711 fresh meltings down brought in another three millions; but much was hidden on both occasions. In Law's time (1710–20) the extravagance revived; twenty to twenty-five millions of gold and silver passed through the smiths' hands. A painter, a mad squanderer, possessed a princely table-service, besides little tables, mirrors, orange dishes, flower pots, cooking utensils, all of massive silver. Water jugs, snuffers, salt cellars, were also often made of silver. In England under Queen Anne this manufacture received a fresh impulse, aided by the new fashion of tea drinking. From 1765–1780, tea-urns, tureens, tea and coffee pots, salvers and wine coolers in silver were much used; silver plates, dish covers, and watches were used even among the lower classes, and the gilding of rooms used up much of the gold. 'Many an Amsterdam merchant in 1792 displayed more heavy metal than a prince; at the Hague gardens had massive silver gates'. Professor Gottfried Sell married a rich Dutch woman, and in his lecture-room at Göttingen had silver spittoons and candelabra. The jewellery of Count Wartenberg was taxed at his death in 1711 and valued at 100,598 thalers, his plate and furniture at 18,896.

In Russia and Poland, in the nobles' houses in the eighteenth century, in white-washed rooms, with rough woodwork and bad furniture, great masses of gold and silver might be seen. Prince Vasili Vasilyevich Golitzin (1643–1714) had 400 silver dishes, and Prince Alexander Danilovich Menshikóv (died in 1729) 72 dozen silver plates and 105 pud (1686 kilogrammes) of golden table services. Count Peter Borisovich Sheremetyev (son of Boris Petróvich, who was ennobled by Peter the Great) at his estate, Kuskovo, near Moscow, gave banquets for 2,000, sixty of whom were served on plates of gold. Charles Radziwill at Nieswiesz had 1,000 golden and silver rareties, tables of wrought silver, and statues of the twelve Apostles, each two feet high, of pure gold.

From 1800–1830 there were in England 10,000 families, each owning valuables in gold and silver up to £500, and 150,000 owning up to £100 worth; the poorest had ear-rings, spoons and small articles. In 1855, according to M. Chevalier, France spent 60,000,000 francs worth of gold and silver, besides the money in circulation, and in 1880 over 70,000,000. England consumes as much; here the use of gold for ornament and other purposes has in the last ten years almost doubled, while that of silver has remained stationary.

Our scanty information scarcely affords a just means of comparing Roman extravagance in silver with that of modern times. Before the wars of Sulla there were in Rome more than 100 dishes weighing 100 pounds each (33 kilogrammes) which cost many of their owners their heads in the proscriptions; Rotundus, a slave of Claudius, and *dispensator* in Lower Spain, had a silver dish weighing 500 pounds, and his followers some weighing 250; this may indicate a fashionable luxury of the time, as in Paris in the thirteenth century, when the rooms were sparsely furnished and lavish use was made of dishes of gold, silver, crystal, set with jewels or enamelled, 'in the manufacture of which medieval art was unrivalled'. 'Capital was invested in gold and jewels and the grandees of France hoarded masses of gold, which recalled the wealth of the East'.

Perhaps the Romans and the thirteenth century Parisians in accumulating silver were simply laying by capital in a form permanently valuable and easily negotiable. Thus the peasants of Sweden in the sixteenth century put their extra money into heavy clumsy silver spoons, weighing 3–4 *reichsthaler*;

poor peasants who had not a bed saved some up, and the rich had as many as fifty or half a ton even. Similarly, in the delta of the Vistula, in 1800 and later, rich farmers hoarded silver spittoons and chambers as well as tea and coffee pots and urns, silver carriage ornaments and harness. In 1720, when Law's bubble was bursting, in Paris gold and silver was being used in the stead of copper and tin in the commonest articles; and this was due not merely to extravagance, but to the fall in the shares. The modern Russian and Polish Jews buy jewellery and gold articles beyond their means and out of proportion to the rest of their property; Jewish walnut-hawkers buy silver candlesticks at Königsberg 'to have articles for pledge'. As in the modern East, where 'all wealth must be readily transportable in exile', at Rome jewels were mostly accumulated in the Eastern provinces; in one of Christ's parables a merchant puts all his fortune into a single pearl. There may have been reason enough to be prepared for anything: thus Galba in Nero's reign never ventured out without a carriage with a million sesterces in gold behind him. And when after Nero the coinage was depreciated, the custom of putting by a reserve fund of silver probably spread. For the *denarius* of almost pure silver was alloyed, under Nero, 5–10 per cent., under Trajan, 15 per cent., under Hadrian, nearly 20 per cent., under Marcus Aurelius 25 per cent., under Commodus 30 per cent., and under Septimius Severus 50–60 per cent. Although the coin lessened in value, its mint rate remained the same. As early as 100 A.D. payment in gold was exacted.

Hence the custom came in of engraving the exact weight on the articles for the purpose of inventories, when the amount was always stated, and the custom of giving away silver plate at feasts. At the *Saturnalia* poor or mean persons gave little silver spoons, rich or generous persons dishes and cups of silver, or even gold. Martial complains at the *diminuendo* series of a friend's Saturnalia gifts; ten years ago he gave silver weighing four pounds, five years ago a little plate of two-thirds of a pound, the sixth year a little dish about half a pound, and in the seventh and eighth spoons as big as a medler. Juvenal makes a glutton pay for his expensive tastes by pawning silver vessels and breaking a medallion of his mother. St. Ambrose makes a usurer tell a borrower: 'in order to find you the money, I will break up some silver heirlooms; their workmanship is

highly artistic and I shall lose considerably, since no interest can replace the embossed figures ; but, for a friend's sake I will not fear the loss, which I will make up when you repay me '.

How great in the Early Empire this lavish use of silver was, may be seen from the statement in Pliny, that Pompeius Paullinus (Seneca's father-in-law), General of the Army in Lower Germany in 58 A.D., carried 12,000 pounds of silver (4,000 kilogrammes) about with him. Much of the silver table plate belonging to the officers, merchants and officials there must have fallen into the hands of the Germans. In 1868 a hoard of ten silver dishes was found, weighing over a hundredweight. Of course, Paullinus' hoard was exceptional. Alexander Severus, who was one of the most economical emperors, had no gold plate even at banquets, and only 200 pounds (65·5 kilogrammes) of silver. But many private sideboards may have been more grandiose.

Pliny's remaining facts are of little use : they are too exaggerated, e.g., he says women will only bathe in silver baths. But they confirm the view that silver was used even in the middle and the lower classes. Soldiers had silver sword-hilts and belts, silver chains on the scabbards ; and poor women wore silver anklets, and even slaves had silver mirrors. At Pompeii, after the eruption, the inhabitants carried away all the valuables they could ; but even so, up to 1837 over 100 silver dishes have been found ; in 1894 a villa of a Pompeian near Bosco Reale was excavated and over 97 silver articles found, 90 being for the table. In the provinces, too, especially Gaul and Spain, many silver articles have been found, at Bernay in Normandy 69 articles in raised work were discovered.

VI. LUXURY IN FUNERALS

Ancient Roman expenditure on funerals was altogether far greater than modern. The love of display and the tendency to make extravagance the measure of grief, the conception of the duties of the living towards the dead, the idea of their immortality, and the desire to keep the memory of them alive, contributed to increase this expenditure enormously. Even the Twelve Tables legislate against wanton expenditure, and

decree that no gold is to be buried, except that which fastens the teeth—a proof of the antiquity of dentistry in Rome.

Every full funeral cost a considerable sum for the procession, which was preceded by flutists and blowers of horns and *tubae*, as well as choruses of dancers and dramatic mimes, who also sometimes represented the deceased. The most sumptuous obsequies were those of the nobility, a regular feature of which was a procession of the ancestors, whose parts were taken by persons as like them as possible, mostly by actors. These carried with them the century-old pictures of the ancestry from the *atria* of great houses, i.e., had masks on, made as faithful as possible, and appeared in the most dignified robes to which the ancestor was entitled; curule magistrates in the purple-hemmed *toga*, censors in the purple *toga*, and *triumphatores* in gold-embroidered purple, and they had lictors with the *fasces* walking in advance and all the usual attributes of office. The carriages and hearses of these forbears often numbered several hundreds. In 22 B.C. at the funeral of Junia Tertulla, the sister of Marcus Brutus, and wife of Gaius Cassius, 'the images of twenty of the most illustrious families preceded her hearse, the Manlii, Quinctii, and other equally ancient families, and, above all, Brutus and Cassius were conspicuous—for their absence'. At the funeral of Drusus in 21 B.C., the son of Tiberius, there was a similar gorgeous ancestral procession. There were seen Aeneas as the founder of the Julian gens, all the Kings of Alba, Romulus and the Sabine nobles, Attus Clausus, the founder of the Claudii, and an endless succession of other distinguished Claudii. The requisites for these processions may have belonged to the families, but the cost must have been very heavy.

Next, fine scents were lavishly squandered in the procession and at the pyre or grave, and were sent as condolence gifts by friends. Incense 'which was dedicated to the gods in single grains, was offered to the dead in heaps'. For example, at Ostia twenty (Roman) pounds (6·55 kilogrammes) were consumed, at the expense of the commune, at the funeral of a youth of the rank of a *decurio*, and at that of a lady of the city aristocracy fifty pounds (16·37 kilogrammes). Pliny calculated the three commercial kinds of incense at 6, 5 and 3 *denarii* to the (Roman) pound. Other fragrances, even more costly, were only rarely used outside Rome, where the waste

of the dearest perfumes of India and Arabia was enormous. According to Juvenal, Crispinus, the favourite of Domitian, smelt of *amomum* in the morning as strongly as two funerals. At the obsequies of Sulla the Roman ladies, it is said, contributed so much spices and perfumes that two huge figures of Sulla and a lictor could be made out of 'dear incense and cinnamon'; both formed part of the ancestral procession of 210 carriages. At Poppaea's funeral in 65 A.D. her body was embalmed in Eastern fashion and laid in the Mausoleum of Augustus, and Nero, according to the experts, burnt more than a year's crop of Arabian incense. At the funeral of Annia Priscilla, the wife of Flavius Abascantus, the freedman and secretary of Domitian in 95 A.D., her body was mummified, laid in a marble sarcophagus and, according to a poetical description, the harvests of Arabia, Cilicia, the Sabaei and Indians, saffron and myrrh, and Jericho balsam filled the air with their perfumes.

The pyre, too, no doubt was a work of luxury. Certainly, we only know of those of the emperors, which in the third century consisted of several pyramidal tiers, covered everywhere with gold-braided carpets, pictures and reliefs, all abandoned to the flames. But as Pliny speaks of painted pyres, it is probable that private individuals imitated this extravagance according to their means.

So, too, the workmanship and material of the cinerary urns and sarcophagi containing the body were often costly. Urns were seldom made of gold or silver (though Trajan's, in the pedestal of his Column, was of gold), but rare and costly stones were frequently used. The ashes of Philetus, a slave of Flavius Ursus (about 90 A.D.) were extinguished in Setina wine, and his remains enclosed in an urn of oriental alabaster. In a *columbarium* of imperial freedmen and slaves of the first two centuries, there are several carved marble urns and one of oriental alabaster, that of an imperial slave, Africanus, who according to the inscription had made for himself a 'little chapel with a grating and golden ornaments'. A glass urn found at Pompeii with white figures in relief on a dark blue background representing genii gathering grapes, is one of the most beautiful specimens of the glass-work of antiquity. The sarcophagus of Nero, which was buried by his former love Acte, and his two nurses Ecloge and Alexandria, was of

Egyptian porphyry, with an altar on it of Carrara marble, and an edging of white Thasian marble. It is well known how richly and artistically sarcophagi and urns were decorated.

A third cause of extravagance was the custom of burying or burning with the body things used by the deceased in life, e.g., clothes, weapons, ornaments, tools, playthings, etc. The idea of corporeal immortality, and the desire of giving expression to intense sorrow explain the custom. Lucian makes a widower say that he has proved his love of his wife by burning all her clothes and ornaments at her funeral. Regulus the orator made an ostentatious exhibition of his grief at the death of a son about 14 or 15 years old, and had all the boy's many ponies, dogs, nightingales, parrots, and blackbirds slaughtered at the pyre. Before being committed to the flames or the grave the bodies of the dead were dressed in the most magnificent attire. Even such a stoic as Cato of Utica showed how grief overwhelmed him at the death of his beloved half-brother, Quintus Servilius Caepio, at Aenus in Thrace 'by the costly funeral and the burning of expensive robes and fragrances'. The heirs of Gaius Cestius (a contemporary of Augustus) who was buried in the well-known pyramid at Rome, were directed by his will to bury with him the gold-embroidered carpets of Attalus: the aediles intervened, they were sold and the proceeds devoted to the building of the pyramid. The sumptuary laws were as little enforced, in general, by the aediles during the Empire, as at any other time. Nero was buried in the white, gold-embroidered carpets he had used at his reception on his last New Year's Day, and Annia Priscilla in Tyrian purple.

We possess but scanty records of the expense of great or small funerals. The *Curia* (common council) of Pompeii granted at the death of an aedile the ground and 2,000 sesterces (£21 15*s*.) for the obsequies, 2,000 and an equestrian statue for a *duumvir* (the highest official): this then sufficed for an honourable funeral. A veteran at Lambessa left by his will only 2,000 sesterces for his funeral: the heirs added 500. For the funeral of a Surrentine who had held the highest offices and priesthoods in his native city, the city council granted the ground, two statues and 5,000 sesterces (£54 6*s*.). The Roman scale was naturally much higher. One Caecilius Claudius Isidorus in his will of January 27, 8 B.C., stated that, despite great losses,

he left 4,117 slaves, 3,600 yoke of oxen, 257,000 head of other cattle, and 60 millions (over £650,000) in money; for his funeral he assigned 1,100,000 sesterces (£12,000). Pliny records this sum for its exorbitance, for Nero's obsequies only cost 200,000 (£2,175). At Vespasian's funeral, the actor who represented the parsimonious monarch, asked how much the procession and obsequies cost; the procurators replied, 10 million sesterces; he rejoined they might give him 100,000, and throw him into the Tiber. However great may have been the pomp of imperial funerals, probably a fabulous sum was introduced in this instance for comic effect.

Yet the custom of inviting the whole community to banquets, shows and gladiatorial combats at the burial or later celebrations in memory of the deceased was the cause of far greater expense. Many instances are known from Republican times. They were often testamentary directions. According to Horace, one Staberius in his will directed his heirs to inscribe the amount of his estate on his tombstone, or, in default, to give a gladiatorial combat of 100 pairs and a public meal with Arrius, a well-known wastrel, as organizer. In Republican times, too, this custom obtained in the Italian towns. Thus a *duumvir* at Sinuessa, on his father's death, at the funeral distributed honey-wine and pastry, and gave gladiatorial games for the district, and a feast to the citizens and his own family. Most probably this practice was continued under the Empire. Pliny the Younger praises a friend for promising Verona gladiatorial games as an acknowledgment of his own great repute, and a debt due to the memory of his wife, a lady of Verona. It was true, he had been importuned and could not refuse, yet his generosity and lavishness was very praiseworthy and the proof of a great mind. At these games panthers were imported from Africa. Under Tiberius the mob in an Italian town stopped the funeral procession of an officer in the market-place, until the heir had promised gladiatorial games. Or, instead of banquets, largesse might be distributed. At Gabii a silk merchant, at the dedication of his daughter's memorial temple in 163 gave the *honoratiores* of the first class 5 *denarii* each, those of the second class 2 each, the shopkeepers inside the walls 1 each, and paid 100,000 sesterces into the city account, the interest on which was to be spent on every anniversary on a public

banquet to the *honoratiores* of the two first classes. Many similar records of endowments in annual memory of the dead are extant.

Finally, the splendour of the monuments, the richness of their decoration within and without was very great, even having regard to the unique luxury in art of this time, and it was heightened by other causes: sumptuary laws were practically ineffective. The desire, amounting to a passion, of immortalizing one's self and one's kin, would be, it was thought, best secured by buildings, whose ornamented and architectural piles should tower up for all eternity, to the astonishment of later generations. Thus the cult of the dead demanded suitable accommodation for the sacrifices at the grave, and the erection of monuments in the form of temples or similar buildings in two storeys. Lastly, the idea of corporeal immortality led to the erection of 'eternal habitations' in the form of dwellings, with gardens around, and furnished like houses within.

There were few general God's acres, and those who could not build graves on their own lands had to acquire pieces of ground, generally by the high roads. There numerous family graves as a rule were intended for the purchaser, his descendants and family, and also for his freed slaves and their descendants. In a gift of a burial ground to the city of Sassina in Umbria one hundred square feet was allowed for every single grave, which was quite large enough for a family; the grave of a freedman of Trajan, who was director of the Imperial Post at Rome, was only 10¼ feet square. But even in the time of the fire larger spaces were usual. The grave of Numerius Istacidius at Pompeii is 15 feet by 15. Geminius Eutyches, a nursery gardener at Rome, wanted to make his 20 by 20. Spaces 25 by 25, 25 by 30, and 26 by 35 (the two latter at Ostia) were plainly quite common. Some even covered an acre (28,000 square feet) or more. Trimalchio designs a burial ground of 20,000 square feet, on which there are to be a monument, vines, an orchard, and a caretaker's lodge. In one passage, 10,000 sesterces is said to be the price of a burial ground.

These splendid mausoleums lined the roads leading into Rome and the other Italian cities, and towered above the smaller ones; only a few are left, e.g., the monumental towers

of Caecilia Metella and of Plautius, on the Tibur road, the *torre d' Orlando* (the monument of Munatius Plancus) near Gaeta and the pyramid of Cestius. Most of them have utterly vanished, save for a few stones; Martial's prediction has come true, that his poems would be still read, when fig-trees were growing in the marble tombs of Licinus and Messalla, and these monuments were dust. In the smaller towns of Italy the extravagance was proportionately great, e.g., the remains of a once stately monument of Mamia at Pompeii, in the form of a temple with pillars, on a raised foundation. In 169 the silk merchant of Gabii erected his daughter's tomb; according to the inscription, a temple with a bronze statue of her as Venus and four other statues in niches, with bronze doors, a bronze altar and so forth.

In the provinces also there were great monuments. The mausoleum of a rich man at Langres (of the Early Empire) contained (according to his will) two statues of him, both sitting, of the best Greek marble and best bronze of the second kind. In front of the building there stood an altar 'of best Carraran marble and the best workmanship', to contain his ashes. On the grounds adjoining were a pond and an orchard, to be kept by a gardener with three assistants. Arrangements were, as usual, made for keeping the whole in good repair.

Some Roman monuments in the Provinces have survived. At Igel near Trèves there is a monument of the Secundinii, 73 feet high, of hard grey sandstone, richly carved and decorated, formerly in colour; it is one of a style much fancied in the district of the Meuse and the Moselle. There are fragments of other similar monuments, from Luxemburg and from Arlon, and many from the excavations of Neumagen since 1877–8. They were obelisks, at least 9 feet high, carved with portraits of the deceased and pictures in relief of their past lives, in colour and very realistic. The *Aiguille de Vienne*, the so-called grave of Pilate, is a 'lofty pyramid based on a Janus arch, of huge stones, quite undecorated'. The tall Roman mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rémy near Tarascon is 17·90 metres high altogether, and was built about the end of the Republic by three sons for their parents. A quadrangular substructure, mounting by steps, with painted reliefs of the deeds and prowess of the father, supports a quadrangular Corinthian arcade, open on all sides, on which there was built an open round

temple of ten Corinthian columns with a conical cupola, containing the statues of the parents. The so-called towers of the Scipios near Tarragona, a large isolated monument, date from about the reign of Augustus. Near the East Jordan there are still a large number of the square towers, so much used in Roman monuments, which also served as dove cots. The monument of Titus Flavius Maximus, the praefect of the third legion, which was stationed at Lambessa, is a square stone building, standing on a socle and crowned with a pyramid, and was 19–22 feet high; in 1849 it was thrown down by an earthquake, but restored by the French garrison. The ashes were in a leaden urn, which crumbled on being touched; they were wrapped in zinc and reinterred, and a whole battalion fired a salvo to pay the last respects to the *manes* of the Roman officer. In 1894 the mausoleum of Apuleius Maximus of El Amruni was discovered far south of the Salt Lakes; it is decorated with a picture of the parting of Orpheus and Eurydice. In 1850, Heinrich Barth, travelling inland from Tripoli towards Mursuk, lighted upon numerous Roman remains, some of them still very grand, which in former centuries had been worshipped by the Berbers. At the Northernmost edge of the Hammada (31°–30° N. Lat.) he found two monuments, 48 and 25 feet high, which 'rose like lonesome lighthouses of power and civilization from the lofty sea-like plain', and both were in an excellent state of preservation. The style of both was the same: a foundation with steps, containing the grave, and on it two square storeys, with Corinthian columns at the corners, and richly decorated and carved with portraits of the deceased, and, on the top, a pyramid. The Southernmost of these monuments (a square, one-storeyed building on Corinthian pillars with a moulding at the top, and three steps) at Old Djerma (Garama 26° 22′ N. Lat.) proves that the Romans held long sway over the Tripoli deserts.

The cost of the monuments, which were often directed by will (and the heirs often contributed in addition) is given exactly in several inscriptions. The amounts vary from 200–100,000 sesterces (£21 15*s*.–£1,037 10*s*.). The monument of a Decurio of Roman Augsburg, who died and was buried at Epfach, cost 6,000 (£65 10*s*); and Flavius Maximus' monument at Lambessa twice that sum. But the prices we know of are almost all those for soldiers and subordinate officers

(legionary tribunes at the highest) in Algeria, and for *honoratiores* of the Italian and provincial cities. The great men of Rome paid on a far larger scale: the monument of Thasian marble Cato of Utica had built for his half-brother at Aenus in Thrace cost about £1,900, and under the Empire this amount must have seemed ordinary. A monument erected by his comrades to a Praetorian out of his own money (at the earliest under Septimius Severus) cost 200,000 (£2,175).

The most gorgeous mausoleum in all Roman history was that of Hadrian; it may have surpassed all others, as did his villa, but still serves to illustrate the magnificence of these buildings. Hadrian began it six years before his death; it was completed by Antoninus Pius in 139. It is comparable with the Pyramids, from which perhaps certain details were borrowed. The substructure, now destroyed, of Parian marble blocks uncemented was loftier than the city wall; according to Procopius each side was 104 metres long. The cylindrical centre erection, 73 metres in diameter and in height (the Castel Sant' Angelo), only gives an idea of the colossal dimensions of the whole; of the architectural features, and upper decorations, little is known. A colossal statue of Hadrian, perhaps in a chariot with four horses, surmounted the Mausoleum, in which all the emperors and members of the imperial house, from Hadrian to Commodus (excepting Didius Julianus) were buried. The splendid carvings of 'men and horses' (probably all colossal) were either on the platform of the substructure, or, according to recent conjecture, above the top moulding of the cylindrical erection. By 537 the Mausoleum had been stripped of its carved decorations. The Romans hurled the statues down on to the heads of the Goths who were besieging Rome under Witichis. One is yet extant, though mutilated: the so-called Sleeping Faun of the Barberinis, which was discovered when the ground round the Castel Sant' Angelo was excavated, and is now in the Munich Glyptothek. Down to 1379, when the Romans destroyed it, the monument remained in good preservation.

VII. LUXURY IN SLAVES

The conquests of Carthage and Corinth, which brought great wealth and crowds of prisoners to Rome, mark the

beginning of the great and extravagant trade in slaves. The great increase in the number of slaves necessarily led to extravagance; and the sale of the remainders of the slave families, who multiplied the more, the more numerous they became, and the profits from the work of industrial slaves, who cost little to buy or to feed, afforded ample means for satisfying such luxury. Slave-labour was far more profitable than in modern times, since slaves carried on all kinds of business and trades in their master's service, or on his account, or were let out to others for similar work; thus most of what is in modern Europe done by free agents was slave-labour in ancient Rome. Only slavery could have rendered possible the extravagance in art, which to us is inconceivable.

Extravagance in slaves took two main directions: the maintenance of useless slaves for mere luxury—for the cheapest goods are most squandered—and the waste of their labour in an absurdly minute subdivision of labour. In this respect great Roman households resembled those of any country in which labour is almost valueless, e.g., early Russia. About 1800, some palaces in Moscow employed over a thousand servants, some of whom had only to carry the drinking water at midday, or at evening. In Bucharest in 1866, out of 100,000 inhabitants, 30,000 were domestic servants, and every house teemed with them. Every servant had his own narrow sphere; every *boyar* family its contingents of washerwomen, bleachers, ironers, bathwomen, hair-curlers, chambermaids and nurses, lackeys, cooks, scullions, messengers, coachmen, grooms, huntsmen, etc. In the inscriptions of the common burial places of the slaves and freedmen of great Roman emperors we find torch-bearers, lantern-bearers, chief sedan-chair carriers, street attendants, keepers of the outdoor garments; this sample of one department implies the scale of the whole. Further, much labour was also wasted through the lack of machinery. Thus slaves had to serve as clocks and announce the hours. As an indication of the slaves kept by the rich, the vocalist Tigellius may be taken, who, under Augustus, oscillated from wealth to poverty, having sometimes 200 slaves, sometimes twenty. In 61 A.D. the city praefect Pedanius Secundus, the principal man in Rome, had 400 in his palace.

Further, slaves were used to save every personal exertion,

mental or physical. 'Use your slaves like the limbs of your body, each for its own end', said Democritus; but 'the Roman house was a machine, in which even the mental powers of the slaves and freedmen yielded their produce to the master; a master who knew how to govern these, had countless minds in one'. There were secretaries and shorthand writers to take down from dictation, slaves to read aloud, 'study slaves' who read up, carried out researches and prepared their master's work. There is evidence of this only for the emperors, but the great value laid on a literary training justifies the assumption that this department was usual in great houses. This is the only explanation of Pliny the Elder's literary activity, considering how many public offices he held; the multitudinous facts for his *Natural History* must, at least, have been worked up by slaves and freedmen. Quintilian says that Seneca was mostly misinformed by those who undertook research work for him, who must have been slaves or freedmen.

The desire of doing as little as possible oneself, of not even thinking for oneself, was sometimes exaggerated. The names of clients and dependants were left to the *nomenclatores* ('we remember by means of others', says Pliny), and some had slaves to remind them when to go to bed, or to table. 'They are', says Seneca, 'too weary to be able to know if they are hungry'. One of these weaklings, after he had been lifted out of his bath, and deposited in an armchair, asked, 'Am I sitting down?' A century later Lucian, with disgust and astonishment, says that fashionable Romans had slaves to inform them in the streets of any obstacles or unevenness, ascent or descent: 'They have to be reminded that they are walking, and behave like the blind'. Any who approached had to be content with a silent look, and being greeted by an attendant. Thus even culture was acquired through the slaves. Seneca tells of a rich man, Calvisius Sabinus, whom he still knew, who wanted to appear learned, though uneducated and without any memory. He made one slave learn all Homer by heart, and another all Hesiod, and others the nine lyric poets; these slaves stood behind him at banquets and prompted his *à propos* quotations. Each slave cost him 100,000 sesterces: 'as many cases of books', said one of his parasites, 'would have cost less'. The same jester summoned him

to wrestle, although he was extremely weak. 'How can I? I am hardly alive!' 'What! Don't forget you have many gigantic slaves!'

Slaves who were really luxuries were exhibited mostly at banquets; they did not serve, but stood there to delight the eye and afford entertainment. They were marshalled by colour, race and age; none might be unlike by reason of more down on the chin, curlier hair or finer locks. Pretty boys, 'the flower of Asia Minor', might cost 100,000 or 200,000 sesterces, and served as cupbearers. The guests liked drying their hands in their hair. Alexandrian boys were imported for their ready and biting humour; they were trained in spiteful repartee, and were allowed to direct their precociously obscene gibes against their master and his guests. Ladies let little children play round about them naked, and enjoyed their innocent chatter. But also, as at the Courts of previous centuries, dwarfs, giants, giantesses, 'real' *crétins*, hermaphrodites, and other freaks were kept and exhibited; there was even a 'market of natural freaks' at Rome, at which 'men without shanks, with short arms, three eyes, pointed heads', might be bought; dwarfs were artificially produced, and many grotesque bronzes are extant with the most various mutilations and cripplings, and attesting the extent of this horrid affectation.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The revolting feature of Roman luxury in slaves is not so much the extravagance, as the contemptuous disregard of human dignity; an aspect not of Roman luxury, but a result of slavery. Excepting this form of luxury, which the modern world fortunately cannot parallel to any extent, our comparisons show that the modern scale of expenditure is generally higher than the ancient; this is natural, considering that the requisite conditions were then by far less common.

It must not be forgotten how small, and how much poorer, the ancient world was compared with ours; and that the earth gave man much more meagre returns. The Roman Empire comprised not quite two-thirds of Europe, and little of the rest of the globe was accessible. The East and the barbarian countries yielded the Empire but little of their valuable pro-

ducts. In many provinces civilization was only beginning; and even those most highly developed stood far behind those of modern days in productive power. The exploitation of Nature and her artificial culture was, despite considerable progress, comparatively slight. Many inventions and sources of enjoyment remained undiscovered. International traffic—despite the wonderful and admirable efforts of the Romans—was nothing like that of modern times; commerce and industry were in some respects in their infancy. Excepting such products as Nature herself lavished, the making of the same commodities required far greater effort than now.

This relative smallness and poverty of the Roman world made the standard of comparison for many things much smaller than ours; what was huge to them is not huge to us. Rome even, the giant city and world capital, was never as large as modern Paris, and always far smaller than modern London and, at her greatest, never had a third of the population of the latter. But the luxury of Rome appeared to contemporaries greater than it would to us, because of this different standard and the greater naturalness of Roman life, and also because the highest grade of luxury was apparently far more confined to Rome, than it is now to our greatest and richest cities. The more unique Rome then was, the more vast and portentous she seemed. Höck is right in saying that 'ancient luxury was far more limited than modern both with regard to its social *milieu* and its articles of consumption, and cannot be compared with that of our days, when the poorest hut has a store of foreign foods and clothes, which are regarded as necessities'.

This chapter will have shown that Roman luxury was not as extravagant as it might seem from the words of the ancients themselves, and that Roscher's statement, that imperial Rome was the greatest example of the senseless and immoral luxury of a decadent nation, must be modified. This view is the less tenable, since many of the features which Roscher deems typical of healthy luxury in flourishing nations existed at Rome. Such are the return to Nature, luxury found in conjunction with economy, a high degree of cleanliness, and the love of free Nature. The absorption of the whole life and all classes by luxury of this kind is shown in the fact that certain more refined, but by no means indispensable, articles were in general use among the people. Such luxury is only

possible, where social conditions are not too strikingly unequal. In the periods of highest civilization, state luxury is manifested in objects, which can be enjoyed by all.

Our scanty authorities for the Early Empire leave some doubts as to what extent these objects of civilization were then existent. Clothing was more natural, and much more alike in all ranks—a great difference from modern times, despite our advance upon previous centuries. But in ancient Rome there was no need to return to Nature, for even in the time of decadence ancient life was far more natural than modern, and the Empire only inherited Republican traditions which continued to exercise a certain influence during its first centuries. It was a question of maintaining a condition of things, which modernity has only reached in a roundabout way. The same garb, within the reach of poor and rich alike, the *toga*, was the ceremonial dress of the emperor or the poorest plebeian. This persistent idea of equality may have rendered futile the attempt of Alexander Severus to devise robes of dignity for the various officials. A carriage aristocracy may have arisen after the third century; up to then there was no riding, much less driving, allowed in ancient cities. An ordinance of Caesar's obliged all Roman towns to provide pavements; the obligation was carried out: 'in this respect, as in all matters of roads, modernity follows in the footsteps of the Romans'. Roscher also regards the supersession of French gardens by English as a sign of a return to Nature; but the Augustan fashion of trimmed hedges and architectural garden arrangements is a proof, not of luxury but of the feeling for Nature characteristic of the Southerner.

How far Roman luxury was combined with economy can only be partially determined. In Rome, there was much 'gilded poverty' and specious splendour, and probably a large industry in cheap substitutes for valuables; thus the fashion of costly tables in the Early Empire soon led to the invention of veneer. Most of all were cheap substitutes used in the decorations of private houses and public buildings, as is shown in the case of a middle-sized town like Pompeii; here we find stucco, clay, terra-cotta, gypsum, and glass for marble and ivory, bronze for gold and silver, paint for coloured stones, copies for originals, and an appearance of bright splendour at small outlay. This noble side of luxury, this craving for art

was universal in a sense we do not realize now, and will be more fully dealt with in a special section.

The most developed luxury of all was that of cleanliness. The many and often imposing remains of aqueducts in the cities of the Empire are a standing reproach to the tardy recognition of this great need by the modern world. The universality and excellence of them can be only indicated here by special instances. 'Pompeii abounded in water; in all but the smallest houses it was supplied, even in excess; there were sixteen jets in the House of the Vettii, and the public baths absorbed large quantities'. In many other cities of Italy great rows of arches, or inscriptions (specifying emperors, patrons, magistrates, individuals and communes as the builders), and pipes with city stamps attest the presence of a water-service, e.g., at Trieste, Bevagna, Circello, Pozzuoli, Canosa di Puglia, etc., and the water not wanted for civic purposes was sold to profit the city purse. These city revenues 'were augmented by rich householders, who had a service installed, and land-owners who watered their fields, as far as they might, from the Aqueduct, and by the artisans, especially the fullers, who needed water in their work; some also laid out baths for their own use, or for that of the poor'.

In the provinces, too, the provision of a good and cheap water supply was one of the chief duties of the communes. Libanius exalts his native city Antioch as excelling all others in this respect; the eighteen divisions of the city vied in supplying the best water for the baths. 'There are as many running streams as houses; several often in one house, and also in most of the workshops. . . . Our public fountains are mere ornaments, as every one has his own water supply at home. The water is so clear, that the full jug looks empty, and so pleasant to look at, that it invites drinking'. Libanius indirectly admits that other cities provided as much water; we know that in Smyrna every single house had at least one supply. In the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia, *nymphaea* were in special favour, a kind of 'water castles', whence from the many mouths of gorgeous façades the water welled into large basins; the best preserved is the *Nymphaeum* of Side (very much like the Septizonium of Severus at Rome); the water gushes from three niches in a magnificent columned marble wall in nine streams into a basin 4,000–5,000 square

metres in size. In Caesar's time the Nile water at Alexandria was purified for use in private houses, but the mass of the people used it in its dirty condition, in which it was unhealthy; later on, the whole population was supplied with filtered water.

In the African provinces, too, where water was doubly a blessing, even small places never lacked good water, as far as we can as yet say; Verecunda received its water supply through Antoninus Pius; and at Lambaesis Diocletian and Maximian restored the aqueducts. An aqueduct 25 *millia* long was made in 276 A.D. there by the third legion. In 152 A.D. one of its engineers was sent to Saldae (Bougie) to bore a tunnel for an aqueduct which had been commenced 147–149; the task had baffled native skill. The city of Thysdrus had been supplied with sufficient water by a water commissioner, appointed by the emperor; it ran through the streets into basins, and was allowed to private houses on certain conditions. In Great Leptis the good and palatable water of the stream on which the town lies might easily have been brought in by covered channels, but it was thought preferable to conduct clear mountain-water high above ground into the city, besides the water of the Cinyps; considerable traces of both aqueducts are left. Mauretania has been insufficiently explored, but the site of the southernmost Roman city of Sala (Rehat Saleh 34° N. lat. on the Atlantic) is evidenced by the ruins of an aqueduct. Arches of aqueducts, some very large, are still standing near Caesarea (Zershel), Constantine and elsewhere. In the *Nymphaeum* of Bulla Regia the water of the spring in the middle of the city fell over several terraces into a basin, to be conducted further still. The ruins of the huge aqueduct of Carthage are continuous for eight geographical miles direct, and double as long in their sinuous course. Cisterns and reservoirs are still in some places in use.

So too in the Western and Northern provinces. The Aqueduct at Segovia is as 'new as it issued forth from the hand of the designer, rises slim and light, nobly proportioned, and stands firm above the dirty town, and, after two thousand years, still supplies refreshing water' (J. G. Rist, 1804). Ausonius cannot find words enough to celebrate Divona the well at Burdigala, covered in with marble and nobly clear, 'breaking forth stormily through her twelve mouths in streams inexhaustible, despite the many uses to which it was put by

the people'. In 1855 there was not one stately fountain at Bordeaux. The Pont du Gard, consisting of three tiers of arcades bridging the Gardon in a wild, lonely ravine, is a remnant of the aqueduct, which conducted the splendid water of the springs Airan and Eure nine leagues further on to Nîmes. In 1854 a Lyons *savant*, who published the inscriptions on the ancient pipes there found, bitterly remarked: 'Our age, which boasts of its mechanics, and has so many new powers, unknown to the ancients, e.g., steam, is still unable to do for large cities what the Romans, despite enormous difficulties, did for their smallest. Ancient Lyons lay on a hill and was richly and amply supplied with clear good spring water; modern Lyons is in the plain between two rivers, which overflow it and yet supply no drinking-water, and has to be content with stinking water, dirty pipes and unhealthy air'. The Roman aqueduct started from the waters of Mont Pilat, and took up those of Gien, Jaunon and Furand, crossed the valleys (sometimes abysses of 200–300 feet on huge bridges of fourteen tiers) and was 15 *lieues* long. The aqueducts of Trèves, Metz, Mainz, Cologne and other cities brought it hard water, which the Romans recognized by its blue-green colour (like that of the Alpine lakes); it soon cured of itself cuts and slight injuries by its deposits of lime. The Cologne derives its excellent supply from the Eifel 52 kilometres away, and brings it in by underground channels, 70 or 88 kilometres long. Not long ago at Remagen two water-courses were used for a supply; and no one imagined that the Romans had already done the same at the same spot; the genius and simplicity and technical excellence were all the more admired. At Rome and elsewhere (e.g., Avenches and Cologne), the legend has attached to the remains of the aqueducts, that they were intended to carry down wine, illustrative at once of the grandeur ascribed to these ancient monuments of civilization, and of the manner in which their real purpose has been forgotten.

The aqueducts supplied the baths, public and private, which were common in Italy from early times and were rarely lacking anywhere later. In Italy there were mere villages possessing more than one set of baths, which could be used for a fee; in inscriptions of Italian and provincial cities, in endowments and legacies, no public purpose is more frequently mentioned

than the erection, maintenance and equipment of free public baths, hot and cold, for men and women, and even for slaves. In the provinces, too, the smallest communes recognized the duty of supplying good, cheap baths. In the communal decree of a mining village in South Portugal, the lessee of the public bath is to keep it open from daybreak to 2 p.m. for men, and from 2 p.m. to the second hour of the night for women; men paid $\frac{3}{10}d.$, and women, $\frac{3}{5}d.$ (double the prices of Rome); fresh running water must be given in the cold and warm basins before and after noon and reach a certain temperature; the boilers must be cleaned every month and rubbed with fresh fat. According to Galen, the custom of a daily bath was common even for rustics; he rightly regards this as to some extent a sign of effeminacy, since people found it hard to do without it; Seneca, too, true to his point of view, regards the passion for cleanliness as a decay of morals; in the good old days, only the arms and legs were washed every day, and a bath taken only once a week. Sea-bathing was general all along the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, Greece and Egypt, as we know; in Germany, it came in after a long struggle, the oldest German sea-bath at Doberan was not opened till 1793.

The enjoyment of Nature—so far as the Romans felt it—was never more widely spread; as early as the last century of the Republic, 'the upper classes regularly spent the fine season in the country'. Even then the rich and great could generally select, from a variety of climate or scenery, what was best adapted for each season of the year; and inside the city the garden was the most valued part of a palace and doubled its value. The windows of the dining-rooms ought to look out on to the green. Even on flat roofs and balconies there were bushes and flowers; this form of luxury may have been sometimes carried too far, but the descriptions of the two Senecas must certainly not be taken literally. Even smaller houses displayed flowers and green in their windows, and Rome had many great gardens and parks, those 'lungs of great cities', some of which were public. At Signia (Segni) two communal officers presented the city with gardens; and such a provision cannot have been an isolated case.

As to the spread of luxury amongst the middle and lower classes, we have little knowledge, and then only of Italy. The

Mediterranean countries, thanks to their climate, have always had the finest corn as food, whilst the North has had to acclimatize slowly and laboriously. In Italy, even in Cato's time, slaves lived on wine, oil and wheaten flour; and, as has been said, Rome introduced wine into the beer-drinking countries. Inequality of wealth was indeed great, but not as pronounced as now. But then in the South poverty is not misery, and the after-effect of Republican manners tended largely to obliterate the difference between wealth and poverty.

The rich and great were still always expected to employ their excess both to support the poor—an object served by the huge system of *clientela*—and to allow them to participate largely in their pleasures, and to afford them advantages and amusements, in which the modern world gives them no share. The people, says Plutarch, hate the mean rich more than the open thief; the latter can plead necessity, the former show a haughty contempt of the people. And, according to Lucian, the poor often tyrannized over the rich, who had to build them baths, provide prize-fights and shows, distribute largesse, and yet live in dread of the displeasure of their fellow-citizens. How splendidly the prosperous in the Roman Empire provided for the comfort and needs of the communes will be dealt with later; these services, such as the baths, benefited the poor especially. 'To build and to give' was then the rich man's duty. In public buildings, institutions, and feeding the poor, private generosity went hand in hand with communal authorities. Endowments, gifts, and legacies for purchases of oil and meal for free distribution or cheap sale were frequent; and endowments to put poor parents in the position to educate their children up to the wage-earning age, not unusual; there is one instance known in the time of Augustus. Further, there were endowments for destitute aged. Burial-places for the poor were laid out by the communes and by individuals. Finally, the communes in their educational work were helped by the public spirit of the rich. About 100 A.D. in Como there was no teacher of oratory, the highest stage of learning, and aspirants had to go as far as Milan. Pliny the Younger, though childless, gave a third of the cost of the chair; he also presented a valuable library, and capital for its maintenance and enlargement; we may conclude that the generosity of municipals often aided education.

But far more was spent on public festivals and amusements, by the communes and by the rich, who thereby sought public favour. Custom obliged them to invite a large portion of the commune to their private feasts; on their birthdays, when their sons assumed the *toga virilis*, at a daughter's marriage, or on the assumption of a municipal office, a public building would be dedicated and many of the citizens and the council invited, often over a thousand, or a sum of money was distributed instead. Public festivities were mainly banquets to the whole community, and established annually by endowment or legacy, or they were of the nature of shows, amongst which *venationes* or gladiatorial combats were the most popular. The rich were, no doubt, often coerced by public opinion and its unmistakable expressions. In the city on the Gulf of Naples, the scene of part of the Petronian romance, one of the *honoratiores* is expected to provide a feast and largesse, and another three days' gladiatorial games; he had inherited 30 million sesterces from his father, and could well afford to win eternal fame for 400,000 (£4,350).

Of the very numerous provincial inscriptions, specifying the benefactions of citizens to their cities, three may be cited to show what sums even in second-rate towns the rich had to pay for the pleasure and convenience of the communes. In Philadelphia (Lydia), of two citizens who had held the highest offices and priesthoods, one (besides an unnamed contribution to the public purse) on becoming aedile, gave 10,000 *denarii*; for a 'fifteen days' cooking' (probably for the people), 5,000; for the fore hall to the basilica, 50,000; altogether 65,000 *denarii* (over £2,800); the other, several donations for himself and his sons, a *venatio*, 610,000 *denarii* altogether to purchase corn, 10,000 to roof the theatre, for one statue each to the seven gulds, 7,000; in all 627,000 *denarii* (£27,300). At Sillyon or Aspendos in Pamphylia one family (besides distributions of money and corn to eight sets of citizens) gave 300,000 *denarii* (£12,550) for the education of children. And hundreds of municipal inscriptions testify that in all cities of the Empire the whole population received much of the wealth of the rich, who gave up much more than could have been extracted by the heaviest income-tax.

State luxury was also largely directed to 'things enjoyable by all'. The magnificent imperial public buildings in Rome,

especially the *thermae*, the Games of the emperors and officials, the *congiaria* and *frumentationes*—however morally and economically unsound—yet benefited the whole people ; whilst the luxurious houses and court-feasts of our days are only enjoyed by a minority of favoured individuals. And the public luxury of the communes throughout the Empire had the same democratic character.

Luxury and the civilization of the Early Empire no doubt had its seamy side, but was neither as mad or immoral as the one-sided rigorists, the writers of that time, have represented it, nor as fabulous as in Meursius' uncritical compilation. Despite all its faults and defects, that civilization was very high, 'and sowed many seeds which are still bearing fruit'. In refining the pleasures of life and spreading prosperity and the material conditions of a healthy luxury, this epoch surpassed all other ancient times ; its luxury brought forth much that often, in a stunted form, has produced happy effects in later centuries and has made existence in our hemisphere more humane. The people of that time possessed many advantages, the attainment of which in our century is greatly valued, or as yet only attempted. Mommsen is right in his remark that 'the Roman Imperial Epoch is more abused than known'.

CHAPTER III

THE ARTS

I. ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

§ 1. Aims and Application of Architecture

Were all other knowledge of Rome lost, there would be evidence enough of the great and mighty civilization that has passed away in the many ruins so widely scattered, and the immense remains of works of art found beneath heaps of débris and ashes. Most of the Roman buildings extant, and the largest, date from the Empire. They are found in desolate regions, landmarks of a civilization, that once extended over vast districts, mere deserts now, after centuries of barbarian rule: such are the huge ruins of Baalbek or Tadmor; or the hundreds of stone cities and villages abandoned but still habitable, in East Syria, with their characteristic arches, cupolas, pyramidal graves, or the many remains of Roman cities in marvellous preservation in Asia Minor and North Africa. Many disappeared only recently, e.g., the bridge of Almaraz was destroyed in 1806 in the Peninsular War, and the vast conduit over the great ravine of the Rummel, the only means of access to Constantine, collapsed in 1857. Often these ancient buildings in their magnificence, permanence and present utility put to shame their modern congeners, e.g., the bridges at Rimini, Alcántara and Mérida, Pont du Gard, the aqueduct of Segovia and others in the Mediterranean countries. 'A second Nature for civic purposes is their principle'. This vast confusing mass of ruins of all the arts gives a picture of the richness of the artistic decoration in the extremely numerous cities of importance in the Roman Empire, and makes modern attempts at beautifying and ennobling private and public life by art seem mean in comparison.

Such splendid and far-spread architecture and art implies

a degree of general civilization and prosperity unrealized in earlier ages. The Empire gave the world, weary unto exhaustion, almost two centuries of practically continuous peace, and to the provinces which had been plundered to the utmost, a more equal distribution of burdens and, at least, a tolerable rule. Order and security were restored ; traffic 'in the largest free trade realm that has ever existed' grew apace ; and wealth and prosperity flourished as never before.

The continuous embellishment of cities in all the provinces is the most evident proof of this. The number of cities increased with new foundations, colonies, grants of civic rights and combinations of several small towns into a single commune, especially in Gaul and Spain, which were formerly administered by cantons (*pagi*). Under Augustus in Tarraconese Spain out of 293 communes only 179 were combined as cities ; according to Ptolemy under Antoninus Pius there were 248 cities. And 'in the Eastern provinces, in Galatia, Cappadocia and Hellenized Syria, slowly but gradually new communes arose, and even on the Danube, in Numidia and Mauretania the Roman garrisons caused many new cities to spring up'.

Only the growth of cities out of camps can be noticed here. In Africa Lambaesis (Lambessa) and Verecunda arose from the settlement of the third Legion there in 146 A.D., out of the barracks and huts of the hucksters, women, girls, contractors, workmen, etc., who were only allowed to settle about a mile off the camps ; Antoninus Pius made the places communes ; Lambaesis gained civic rights in 207, and Verecunda later, under Valerian and Gallienus. Lambaesis was connected with the camp by a good, square paved road, which entered the city through a triumphal arch with three gates, and continued through another arch on to Verecunda. The city abounded in stately buildings, temples, *thermae*, an amphitheatre, a *septizonium* in which several water-courses met ; in front of the principal temple was a kind of forum with statues of legionary legates ; in 208 the city got its capitol. When the legion went away, the town rapidly decayed. When the Byzantines were fortifying the towns of Africa, they raised a citadel there out of architraves, friezes, altars, tombstones and pedestals, and, as they left it, the French found it when they occupied Algeria.

Similarly in the Northern provinces there arose near the camps settlements of Romans in *cannabae*, generally close by native villages, which gradually amalgamated with the Roman town. Under Claudius the camp of the fifteenth Legion was removed to Carnuntum (apparently a large Celtic centre of commerce), now St. Petronell near Vienna; and Hadrian, when he stayed there, gave it municipal rights. Near the camp at Xanten (*castra vetera*) the long peace caused the erection of buildings 'after the manner of a town', which were pulled down in 69 so as not to give the rebel barbarians shelter in attacking the camp. The numerous small places near the great camp at Mainz became a Roman town first under Diocletian, and flourished in the fourth century; the architectural remains extant must have been part of a stately town. Strassburg, Alt-Ofen, Vienna, Iglitza, Karlsburg originated in the same way.

The panegyric of Aristides on Rome (152 A.D.), however fulsome, discloses the effect of great impressions, which were felt most of all in the East. 'When were there so many cities inland and on the coast, and when were they ever so bedecked? What ancient ruler could ever have in every day's journey reached a new city in his domain, or even have passed through two or three in the same day, as through streets? It might be said, all former monarchs were only kings of a desert with fortified posts, and only Rome mistress of cities. Amongst you all the Greek cities are now rising, and all their monuments do you honour; inland and on the coast are numerous cities, founded or extended by your efforts. Ionia in grace and beauty ranks first and outdoes its own past, as much as it outdid erstwhile all other countries. The proud city of Alexandria is a gem in your diadem, a necklace beside many other jewels. The whole earth has donned a garb of rejoicing, has doffed her old dress of iron, and turned to pleasure and magnificence. All cities are possessed by one ambition, to appear the loveliest. Everywhere are wrestling-grounds, aqueducts, *propylaea*, temples, workshops, schools; the earth, once sick, has been restored to health. Incessant gifts come from your hand; in your impartial grace no city is favourite. They gleam in splendour and beauty; the earth is become as a garden'.

The rhetor's admiration of the many beautiful cities is justi-

fied by ruins and by other facts. Aelian says Italy 'once' had 1,197 cities; but gives no date or authority; probably Italy, despite some local desolation, flourished most and had most great cities from the time of Augustus to Marcus Aurelius. In 44 B.C. the triumvirs assigned the eighteen principal cities of Italy 'in wealth, architecture and beauty' to the soldiers, and of these Appian says the most important were Capua (which even under Domitian ranked not far behind Rome, and was reckoned by Ausonius among the fourteen great cities of the Empire), Rhegium, Beneventum, Venusia, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Hipponium (Vibo). In Central Italy ruins like those of Ocriculum and Asisium show the size of even the smaller ones. Centumcellae (Cività Vecchia), which is seldom mentioned, was a great and flourishing city in the time of Procopius. In Lower Italy the remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum have proved that places seldom mentioned had numerous stately public buildings decorated in good style. Under Domitian Naples was a splendid and artistic town with many temples, and colonnaded squares. Of the sixty-three cities of Sicily towards the end of the Republic the greatest and most prosperous was Centuripae with 10,000 citizens (some 100,000 inhabitants). Syracuse and Catina (Catania) Ausonius mentions in his fourteen. Corsica possessed thirty-two cities.

Cisalpine Gaul in Strabo's time surpassed other countries in the wealth and greatness of her cities and Verona and Ariminum (Rimini) are now the richest in Roman remains. Cremona, down to its destruction in 69, was rich and populous. Ravenna was built in the water on piles, an ancient Venice, with communications by bridges and boats. Mediolanium (Milan) in the Late Empire became the 'first city in Italy after Rome for population, size and wealth' according to Procopius; but his estimate of 300,000 adults slain when Milan was destroyed by Witichis must be exaggerated. In Venetia, in Augustus' time, the most important town was Patavium (Padua), with 500 families possessing at least the equestrian census. Aquileia, the great emporium of northern trade, 'in more than one sense the mother of Venice,' was the fourth city of Italy in the matter of population (after Rome, Capua and Mediolanium). Outside the double wall there were extensive suburbs. The city was razed to the ground, but the foundations abound with industrial products. At several places in

Istria noble ruins are still standing, e.g., at Tergeste (Trieste), Tarsatica (Fiume), Parentium (Parenzo). But Pola has preserved the most important Roman remains, one temple wholly, another nearly destroyed ; a triumphal arch with rich decorations ; the famous amphitheatre that could contain 20,000–25,000 spectators ; the remnants of a theatre destroyed in the seventeenth century were excavated some thirty years ago ; in the nineteenth century the city walls were pulled down in part, but two gateways remain.

Josephus, quoting an official list, gives about 1,200 as the number of cities in Gaul ; though some, or most, under the Empire, may have been large villages, many, at least in Narbonese Gaul were much larger than their modern substitutes. Of the nine specified by Pomponius Mela about 50 A.D. as the most considerable, Vasio (Vaison) and Baeterrae (Béziers) have scarcely any Roman traces left, but Avenio (Avignon), amongst a considerable number of ruins, can show a triumphal arch of the Early Empire ; the remains at Arausio (Orange) are grand, the triumphal arch and the theatre being very well preserved. In Mela's time, the most important town was Narbo, the residence of the Proconsul and the principal harbour of Gaul, a town belauded by Apollinaris Sidonius about 450 A.D. ; traces of its former glory may still be seen. The finest and best preserved Roman buildings in Europe outside Italy are at Nemausus (Nîmes), which reached its apogee under Hadrian and the Antonines, and Arelate 'the twofold town' (after Constantine's reign it spread over both banks of the Rhône), the 'Gallic Rome', as Ausonius calls it ; it flourished most after Lugdunum declined, and was still a thriving commercial city in the fifth century. The amphitheatre of Nemausus had seats for 20,000 spectators, and that of Arelate for 25,000. Tolosa, with Narbo, became a city of the first rank towards the end of the fourth century, and consisted of five towns, four of which had grown out of the first, all surrounded with huge brick walls. Vienne, formerly an open village, became a city under Augustus, and was surrounded by him with a wall 3½ miles long, and abounded in fine buildings ; it contains the ruins of a Temple (perhaps of Augustus and his wife Julia), an amphitheatre, a theatre, *thermae* and a *porticus*.

Vienne was the second capital of Gaul. The first was Lugdunum (Lyons), the residence of the proconsul of Gallia

Lugdunensis, the administrative centre, situate at the confluence of two broad streams and the intersecting point of the main roads ; it soon became a very prosperous city, and, even under Nero, was full of splendid buildings, any one of which would have been an ornament by itself. But the ' great rich city ' was destroyed in 197 by the soldiers of Septimius Severus, and never wholly recovered. The ' little town of the Parisii ' (as Julian calls Lutetia) had also spread from the island in the Seine to the left bank ; the remains of the so-called *palais des thermes* are well known ; an amphitheatre of the third century was discovered near the Panthéon. Augustodunum, formerly Bibracte, the capital of the Aedui, had, like Vienne, walls about 3½ miles round, with 220 turrets and two three-arched gateways ; in the seventeenth century there were remains of a theatre and amphitheatre, the largest known (157 metres by 131).

In Aquitania, about the middle of the first century, the principal town was Eliumberum (Auch). Burdigala (Bordeaux), though of course the most important commercial city on the Atlantic, is not mentioned as a large town before the end of the fourth century, and the ruins are in late Roman style. The walls were square with lofty turrets, and gateways exactly opposite, the streets broad and regular, and the pride of the town was its spring Divona, which lavishly supplied it with water.

In Belgica, even under Augustus the city of the Remi (Durocortorrum, Rheims), the residence of the governor, was a populous town, and of consequence even in the fourth century. The capital of the Treviri (Trèves, Trier) was settled under Claudius as a military colony, and is mentioned by Mela as an important town ; its walls were 6,418 metres round, enclosing a space of 285 hectares on the right bank of the Moselle ; it thus was nearly twice as large as the medieval, and, up to recent times, as the modern town ; the wall with the Porta Nigra was built about 250 A.D. It was most flourishing in the fourth century, when the emperors often resided there ; and to this period must be assigned the splendid buildings, remains of which can still be seen ; the amphitheatre is earlier. The city of the Ubii was under Claudius a frontier fortress, and in 50 A.D. as a military colony, received its new name of Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne) ; in 71 even its prosperity made it

an object of the envy of the Germans on the right bank. Its circular wall (of the same period as that of Trèves) encloses some 97 hectares, holding a population of some 30,000 souls. Cologne and Deutz yield a good crop of architectural fragments, sculptures, mosaics, metal-work, and glass and clay vessels. In West Switzerland, as the ruins show, Vindonissa (Windisch, the station of a legion until the frontier was removed), Salodurum, Turicum, Lousanna, became flourishing towns ; Baden, near Zürich, was at the beginning of the second century a lively spot 'built like a city'. Aventicum (Avenches), the principal city of this part, was 'little inferior in splendour and public buildings, and the luxury of the richer homes to any provincial town of the West'. The walls were protected with, perhaps, low turrets ; there was a magnificent water supply, a theatre, and an amphitheatre for 17,000 spectators.

Tarraconese Spain (i.e., the North and the East) had under Augustus 179 independent communes, and 248 under the Antonines ; the capital, Tarraco, had numerous temples and public buildings and statuary, and houses, villas, and sepulchral monuments testified to its prosperity. Baetica (Seville, Cordova, Granada and parts of the adjoining provinces), under Augustus had 175 cities, amongst them Gades, the second city in population after Rome, with 500 citizens, possessed of at least 400,000 sesterces, one of the richest and greatest cities in the monarchy. 'The ruins of Emerita Augusta, the capital of Lusitania, one of the fourteen cities mentioned by Ausonius, aroused the admiration of the Arabic writers ; they were then in better preservation, and although used as quarries for centuries, even now the circus, amphitheatre, city walls, aqueduct, a bridge over the valley of the Anas with eighty-one arches are almost perfect, and there are numerous remains of temples, statues, more or less in ruins'.

In Africa, too, the cities increased in number and prosperity up to the end of the third century. Ptolemy already estimates 324, with only a very few hamlets amongst them. In a lateral valley of the Medjerda (Bagradas) in a zone of 55,000 hectares there are six cities only a few kilometres apart ; and further South on the plateau, sloping down to Shotts (Salt Lakes) and the sea, the cities lie all a day's journey apart. The military colonies, of which we know 33 in the two Mauretanias, 50 in Numidia and Africa (there were only 6 in Pliny's

time), caused cities to magnify and increase in number, since villages in which veterans settled soon grew up into cities. In many of the 'towers' and castles, used as the places of refuge by the agricultural population, when invaded from beyond the frontiers, the permanent inhabitants increased to such an extent that they were able to claim, and obtained, civic rights. How Lambaesis and Verecunda arose has been explained. Rural communes, which were attached to independent city communes, also became independent, e.g., Chullu, Mileu, and Rusicade (Philippeville) at first united with Cirta, about the end of the third century. Rusicade was rich in public buildings and statuary. Similarly the rural communes of Thignica, Thibursicum Bure, Thugga, Agbia, all became cities under Gallienus, and their magnificent ruins give some idea of their prosperity.

The Roman cities in Africa prospered most from the reign of Hadrian to that of Severus, as their ruins testify. Some lay too near Arabian towns and were exhausted as quarries, e.g., Carthage, which has now almost entirely vanished, but in the third century vied with Alexandria as the second largest town after Rome, or Utica, or Hadrumetum (Susa); of others, which are never mentioned in ancient literature, e.g., Uthina, Seressita (now Um-el-Abwab, Mother of Gates, so called from the four gates still standing), Cillium, Sufetula, considerable ruins remain. In the valley of the Medjerda, an African Campagna, now sparsely inhabited, and a fever-haunt in the spring, every step brings one on to ruins of Roman temples, baths and aqueducts, with heaps of ruins to indicate former towns, or here and there magnificent buildings inscribed and carved, towering over the miserable Arabian *duwars* (circles for penning cattle). In Great Leptis, whence whole ladings of columns have been transported to France and England, in the western part of the town, now buried deep, many remains of buildings can still be seen, remarkable alike for costly material and many huge columns. The ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad, an African Pompeii buried under the sand), and of Thagaste, the native city of St. Augustine, and Madauri, that of Apuleius, are very extensive. Theveste (Tebessa) is 'an ancient city with ancient houses, in part still inhabited, though a far larger number is buried deep in ashes': a temple, like the *maison carrée* at Nîmes, *thermae* like those of

Caracalla, the forum, a basilica and other buildings are well preserved. There are plentiful remains too of Sitifi and Caesarea, the capitals of Eastern Mauretania; Caesarea was one geographical mile round, eight times as large as the modern Zershel. The ruins of Volubilis (a triumphal arch, a temple and the wall) though long quarried out for the neighbouring town Miknes, still cover one hill. The population increased under the Empire, for the cities prospered and, according to Herodian, in the third century there was a considerable agricultural population. Procopius states that through the Vandals 5,000,000 men lost their lives in Africa.

The population of Egypt was 7,000,000 under the Ptolemies, and in the first century 8,500,000, about 800 to the square mile. In ancient times there were 20,000 towns, under the Ptolemies 30,000. It still abounded in cities, certainly most of them small, but Pliny gives forty of importance, including Alexandria, with a population of about 1,000,000, almost equal to Rome in splendour and size. Arsinoe had at least 100,000 inhabitants. Even in the fourth century, Egypt, Libya and the Pentapolis had a hundred episcopates.

Antioch, the capital of Syria, was the rival of Alexandria in size, splendour and wealth, consisting of four cities each with its own walls, besides the surrounding wall of the whole; like Alexandria, it had two main colonnaded streets, crossing at right angles, the longer of which was 36 stadia long. According to Libanius its aqueducts were the best of any capital, and in Antioch alone (as far as we know) in the fourth century, the streets were lighted at night. Apamea on the Orontes also had two main streets, about a mile and half a mile long, also crossing at right angles, and 117,000 free inhabitants in 5–4 B.C.; the acropolis, on which there is now an Arabian village of 100 houses, had room enough for at least 400–500 houses. From Apamea to where the Orontes turns seawards, on its right bank there are now ' for 90–115 miles ruins of about 100 places, with roads still recognizable, the buildings of massive stone (except the roofs), the houses with colonnades around, and galleries and balconies, the windows and gateways tastefully decorated with stone arabesques, gardens and baths, guest-rooms on the ground floor, stables, vats and oil-presses hewn into the rocks, and sepulchral chambers, with pillared entrances, hewn into the rocks and filled with *sarcophagi* '.

These were the country homes of the merchants of Apamea and Antioch, settlements dating from about 300–550 A.D.; and, no doubt, preceded by villas less durable; up to a certain point the prosperity of the Syrian merchants, of which we have a picture here, can be assumed for the Earlier Empire as well. 'Damascus, the great and holy' is called by Julian, who extols the beauty of its temples and the splendour of its numerous aqueducts, the eye of the East. Samosata on the Euphrates was a great populous city with a large temple of Zeus. Palmyra, which belonged to the Empire in the first century, owed its importance to the caravan trade with the towns on the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf; and 'the temples still standing and the great colonnades of the city markets and the massive decorated tombs', bear witness to its prosperity; 'thanks to the underground water-supply and huge reservoirs of square blocks of stone, traces of which yet remain in the neighbourhood, the now barren ground must then have been very fertile'. After the destruction of the city by Aurelian (273 A.D.) 'commerce sought other roads; on the meteoric glory of Palmyra followed the desolation and stillness of its ruins'.

In Phoenicia, the largest cities were Sidon and Tyre, with their six-storeyed houses; and Zabulon, according to Josephus, had fine houses, like Sidon, Tyre and Berytus. Ptolemais too, was a large town, and Arados very populous, with many-storeyed houses. In Palestine, after Jerusalem (with 600,000 inhabitants in 70 A.D.) came Gaza, and Caesarea, the splendid harbour-town founded by Herod, where the Tetrapylon, a triumphal arch with four gates, probably at the meeting of the two main streets, was worth visiting even in the fourth century.

In Eastern Syria and the Nabataean country the constitution of the province of Arabia and the establishment of a legion in Bostra as the capital (106 A.D.) brought the only epoch of peace and good government these regions, now a desert, uninhabited save for roaming Bedouins, have ever enjoyed; to the time of Roman dominion (Trajan to Justinian) almost all the architectural remains belong. The Ledyâ, a lava plateau, some forty miles long and twenty-five miles across, is now unpeopled, but was then highly cultivated; the road connecting Bostra and Damascus passed through it, and there are ruins

of twelve large and thirty-nine smaller places. The very first Roman governor had aqueducts built, bringing the water of the Hauran to Kanatha (Kerak) and Arrha (Rahâ). Bostra was connected by road with the Persian Gulf, and became a great trade centre, sharing with Palmyra and Petra the Eastern commerce with the Mediterranean; the long rows of stone huts testify how great it was, and still might be. For want of wood, the buildings on the Hauran were all of stone, and give a vivid idea of the peculiar civilization of the 500 years between Trajan and Mahomet. M. de Vogüé says that the Roman dominion created an architectural impulse which did not die out; in a few years, houses, palaces, baths, temples, theatres, aqueducts, triumphal arches and cities arose from the ground with all the symmetrical regularity of mushroom cities, a uniform style for this part of Syria under the Empire. The Eastern slopes of the Hauran contain about 300 such deserted cities and villages, in contrast with the five towns of the present day; some of them having 800 one or two-storeyed houses, still habitable, all of basalt with well-fitted square blocks without cement, ornamented or inscribed doors, and flat roofs of stone beams supported by stone arches and made rain-proof with cement. The style is the ordinary imperial Greek with some indications of the older oriental. The stone arch and the cupola invest these buildings with a technical and architectural originality. The city wall generally only consists of the backs of the houses, and is protected by numerous turrets. In front of the gates are the cisterns, underground or roofed over with stone; the Bedouins still keep some of them in repair.

Gerasa, one of the Roman towns in that district, has a wall of square blocks 4½ miles long and 7–8 feet thick; the principal temple has 250 columns, and there are two smaller temples, two amphitheatres (possibly), several large baths, aqueducts and other ruins; the main street, paved with blocks still in fair preservation, was enclosed by colonnades on both sides. A necropolis full of graves showing the large population, surrounds the city on all sides. Philippopolis was first made a city by Philip the Arab, and seems from its ruins to have been an important town, surrounded by a right-angled wall, with two main streets intersecting at right angles, a theatre, aqueduct, baths, temples and numerous public

buildings. The splendid buildings of Petra, the old residence of the Nabataean kings, mostly hewn in the living rock and of the Roman period, exhibit all the fantastic extravagances of the decadent architecture and sculpture of the second and third centuries. 'The tombs, hewn out of the cliffs east and west of Petra and in the clefts are unartistically, but massively decorated with superposed rows of Doric or Corinthian columns, and *propylaea* like those of Egyptian Thebes. Only great prosperity and vigorous life could thus have provided for the dead'.

Of the 500 cities in Asia (including the coast and islands of Ionia, Aeolis or Doris, Phrygia, Mysia, Caria and Lydia) repeated mention is made; this number is official. Cyzicus was one of the most opulent and magnificent cities of the province of Asia, and of all Asia Minor: its greatness is witnessed to by the ruins of its theatre and amphitheatre, and, inland, the principal city was Apamea (Κιβωτός). Eleven cities in 26 A.D. competed for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius: five, amongst them Laodicea, were at once rejected, as too unimportant, yet Strabo says of Laodicea that wool and agriculture had made her rich, and the munificence of her citizens had made her great. One Hiero bequeathed to her an inheritance of over 2,000 talents (£500,000) and had, besides, embellished the city with buildings and monuments; his example was followed by Zeno the rhetor and Polemo, whom Antony and Augustus made king. This affords an estimate of the wealth and splendour of the cities allowed to compete (Halicarnassus, Pergamus with its 120,000 inhabitants, Ephesus, Miletus, Sardes and Smyrna). Pergamus and Ephesus were accounted the jewels of Asia; Ephesus was the residence of the Governor and was considered one of the best built and most populous cities in the world, but Smyrna's claim to be the most beautiful was undisputed. Aphrodisias, despite the use of the older buildings for erecting a wall in the fourth century and of its ruins as a quarry for centuries, still has large Roman remains, and the same may be said of Stratonicea. How prosperous Aphrodisias was is shown by the numerous stone inscriptions recording the outlay on spectacles down to the time of the Gordians. The capital of Rhodes (probably incorporated with Asia under Vespasian) was the richest and most flourishing Greek city down to its destruc-

tion by an earthquake about 150 A.D., and one of the most splendid and well built cities in the world.

In the rest of Asia Minor, the waterless interior of Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia was only suited for pasturage, and even then thinly populated; the coast-land, however, did not stand behind that of Asia. In Bithynia, Nicaea and Nicomedia vied for the first place. Nicomedia, according to Ammianus, had been so greatly extended and embellished by the later emperors, especially Diocletian, that it seemed to Julian like a part of Rome for its masses of public and private buildings: except by Rome, it was then only surpassed by Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople in size, and by none in beauty. In Pontus, where Amasea the old capital of King Mithridates still flourished, Trapezus (Trebizond) first became a town of consequence under the Empire. The population of Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia, was reckoned at 400,000 in the third century. Melitene, a fortress on the Armenian frontier, made a city by Trajan, grew to be large and populous, spreading below the fortress. The plain was covered with temples, official residences, streets, and the market, shops, warehouses, columned halls, baths, theatres, and all that pertained to a great city; Justinian surrounded it with a wall.

But the massive and well preserved ruins in Pamphylia and Pisidia, now 'a forgotten corner of the world', afford the best idea of the number, splendour and greatness of the cities of Asia Minor at this time. A triangle, whose base is the coast-line from Adalia to Side (75 kilometres, with two sides of 30 and 45 kilometres) much smaller than the triangle of Berlin, Küstrin, and Frankfort on the Oder, encloses the five cities of Pamphylia (Attaleia, Perga, Sillyon, Aspendus and Side). Termessus, situated 3,000 feet high in a hollow in the hills and overlooking the sea, is a 'magnificent and perfect picture of an ancient city with all its main parts, temples, a theatre, gymnasium, public buildings all about the beautiful and regular market, and acres of tombs on the slopes'. Perga looks like a place inhabited or only just abandoned. On the acropolis, for a length of 900 metres and a breadth of nearly 600, the embattled walls stand perfect with turrets 70 paces square, in many cases as high as when first built. The roads cross at right angles: from the southern gate a street flanked with columned halls leads up to the centre of the citadel;

the theatre and stadium could seat about 11,000 spectators. The ruins of Aspendus include a magnificent aqueduct, which brought the water over the hills, the ruins of the stadium and a theatre for 7,000–8,000 spectators. Side stands on a narrow peninsula and is walled off towards the mainland : a second strong wall on the mainland encloses the theatre, which could seat about 13,000 spectators, and rises like a mountain out of the low-lying heaps of the city ruins. The excellence of its water supply system has already been mentioned. The main street, lined with bazaars, is 700 metres long and 9 metres broad, with colonnades on the level and on the first floor, behind which were the shops. The ruins of Selge are in two parts : the strong fortified upper city with two acropoleis with the ridge in between, which was the best part of the town and contained the public and sacred buildings ; and the lower, in which there still stand five pillars of a colonnade which once surrounded the whole market place ; and, above it, the theatre (for about 8,000 or 9,000) and the stadium. In the *Kremna*, which is 1,000 metres high, Augustus planted a Roman colony, and most of the buildings belong to the middle and late Empire. Sagalassus stands on rising and undulating ground : ' every one of the eminences was crowned with fine buildings, connected by colonnades and steps and terraces ; the ruins afford an excellent idea of the eminently picturesque effect '. They include a Corinthian temple (possibly of the time of Trajan), a theatre, and, above the theatre, a very large temple. Even a little city like Sillyon had a theatre, an Odeum, and a stadium. ' Towards the end of the second century, shortly before the approaching decline, these cities must have conveyed the impression of great works of art in one style throughout, of ideal pictures, with their picturesque circular walls leading to well kept roads with tombs on each side, and the straight streets, public places, temples, baths, gymnasia, or markets in every quarter, and the citadel with proud columned buildings, the home of the patron gods of the city '. The remains on the Cilician coast are as well preserved as on the Pamphylian, and ' the comparative poverty of material and style is all the more striking '. Antioch on the Cragus with its two streets of bazaars and the magnificent marble temple is an exception. Remains of streets of bazaars are also to be found at Pompeiopolis, Seleucia on

the Calycadnus, and Hierapolis-Kastaba. A large city fortification, a theatre and a large aqueduct testify to the former importance of Mopsuestia. The inside of Anazarba, an abandoned city, is buried deep, and overgrown with vegetation, out of which some few columns of former bazaar streets project; there are also remains of two great aqueducts, a theatre, a stadium, and an amphitheatre.

Here and everywhere,' where a forgotten corner of the world is investigated after the desolation of 1,500 years, the first and strongest feeling is disgust and shame at the miserable present in contrast with the glorious past under Rome '. When, under Claudius, Lycia was made a province, the old hill-city of Cragos was brought into the plain, and, on the market place of the new city of Sidyma, there are still remains of the temple to Claudius with its four columns, and of a stately bazaar with columns, which a native and wealthy physician built for his city. Statues of the emperors and retired citizens decorated the market place: there was a temple of Artemis and Apollo, the patron deities, baths and gymnasia for the young and the older citizens; from the gates right down to the harbour of Calabatia there were rows of stone tombs, more stately and costly than those at Pompeii, and many still standing. Cragos-Sidyma was not a city of the first rank in the little province of Lycia; there was no theatre, no honorific title; it was a little provincial town, created by the Empire. But in the whole vilayet of Aidin there is not a single inland town to compare in civilization with this little mountain city.

Byzantium, the largest and most prosperous city in Thrace, was taken in 196, after a three years' siege, by Septimius Severus and almost entirely destroyed, and deprived of theatres, baths, ornaments and even of its city rights; the huge walls of square blocks (4½ miles long) with lofty defences and numerous artistic turrets, aroused admiration even in ruins. Inland, in the days of independence, there had been nothing but villages and castles, except for Philippopolis (which had a population of 100,000 in 251, when taken by the Goths), but under Roman rule large places arose or became cities, especially under Trajan and Hadrian (Hadrianopolis). Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, is celebrated by Lucian in a speech he delivered there for its beauty, population, wealth and splendour, and called a city containing everything desir-

able. Salonae, the capital of Dalmatia, was, with Aquileia, the principal commercial centre in these waters, and must have been one of the most populous and wealthy cities of the West: it had a wall with eighty-eight towers and three gates. In the seventeenth century the remains were considerable, but have now been used in new buildings; there are still fragments of a theatre and amphitheatre. The huge palace built by Diocletian about two miles from the sea was laid out like a camp, and, from outside, looked like a rectangle (175 by 215 metres) with a wall round it, and four towers at the corners. The modern capital, Spalato, is largely contained inside its walls, and the old temples serve as a cathedral and baptistery. In Jader, too (Zara), there are columns and blocks of architraves, remains of ancient pomp, and two lofty arches near Kistagen mark the site of the ancient Burnum.

Greece (without Thessaly and Epirus), though impoverished and desolate, under the Antonines had on the mainland over 100 places with a real civic life, 60 of which were in the Peloponnese, and a number of villages besides: most of them had decayed, with some exceptions; Tithorea, according to Plutarch, had grown. Of the new splendour of Athens through the buildings of Hadrian and Herodes Atticus mention will be made later. Corinth, the capital and residence of the governor, was also a Roman colony, rich, brilliant and populous. Nicopolis, founded by Augustus as a memorial of the battle of Actium on the southernmost point of Epirus (4½ miles north of Prevesa) was 'as the extensive ruins and finds of coins show, comparatively populous'.

In the North, too, cities grew up at a surprising rate. Even in Britain, a gradual conquest and the scene of constant revolts, with few traces of city life, the Roman towns were not poor in architecture. Camulodunum (Colchester), the capital, was easily captured by the insurgents in 61 A.D. (18 years after the conquest) because it had been designed rather for pleasure than strength. There was a *curia*, a theatre and a temple of Claudius, which the Roman soldiers could hold for two days. Londinium was a great commercial centre: there and at Verulamium (St. Albans) in 61 A.D. 70,000 citizens and provincials were slain. 'The considerable finds in the soil of London of Roman relics of fine buildings' confirm this. Viroconium, too Wroxeter), was excavated in 1861 and almost proved a

British Pompeii. In Bath, where there is no trace of civic life, there are considerable ruins of *thermae*, and of one temple, and slighter traces of other temples; at various places in the island temples occur mentioned in inscriptions. Agricola utilized his first winter (78) in Britain in accustoming the rough and scattered warriors to the enjoyment of peace and quiet, by encouraging the building of temples, *fora*, and houses; baths and colonnades soon followed. So soon did this farthest province bedeck itself architecturally, where one generation earlier Caractacus had wondered, after the sight of Rome, that the owners of such pomp could desire barbarian huts.

The plain on the right bank of the Rhine and the Neckar district up to the 'rauhe Alp' (in Suabia), including the Black Forest, was only held by Rome from the end of the first century to about 250 A.D.; yet in Würtemberg alone at 160 spots there are traces of Roman settlements, and city life flourished as much inside this new confine as on the left bank; 'Sumelocenna (Rottenburg am Neckar), Aquae (civitas Aurelia Aquensis, Baden-Baden), Lopodunum (Ladenburg) were, except as compared with Cologne and Trêves, the equals of any city in Belgica: and the Roman settlement near Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacae) was also important. Vindelicia was associated with Raetia, which was Romanized very late, and then only imperfectly, and its capital, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) was founded under Augustus and named after him; the Perlach there is a reminiscence of the Roman amphitheatre, and many inscriptions and sculptures testify to its ancient prosperity. But it was the only centre of Roman civilization in Raetia; Noricum, the adjoining province, was so thoroughly Romanized as to become 'an outpost or even a part of Italy'. The little standing camps in Noricum, and even the stationing of a legion at Lauriacum near Enns by Marcus Aurelius had little importance; for the larger towns Celeia (Cilli), Aguontum (Lienz), Teurnia (near Spital), Virunum (Zollfeld near Klagenfast), the centre of the province, of which there are very considerable ruins, and Juvavum in the North (Salzburg) were made up entirely of civil elements.

But the civilization of Pannonia was entirely due to the presence of three (later, apparently, only two) legions: under Vespasian, the capital was Carnuntum (Petronell, East of Vienna) and Vindobona (Vienna); there are extensive ruins

of the city that grew up beside the former. It was only after this time that the government began organizing into cities the province, which up to then had only had towns in the western half, Emona (Laibach), Savaria (Stein am Anger). In the Western portion, which originally belonged to Noricum, Scarbantia (Ödenburg on the Neusiedler Lake), Siscia (Sziszek), between the Save and the Drave, and Sirmium (Mitrovicza) received city rights under the Flavian emperors; Poetovio (Pettau) under Trajan; Mursa (Eszeg) became a colony under Hadrian. The principal places were Sirmium and Savaria, which retained its Roman name up to the Magyar conquest in the tenth century, and abounds in Roman remains.

In Moesia the development of cities was less even than in Pannonia. Here too Italian civilization spread from the camps, of which the oldest were those at Singidunum (Belgrade), and Viminacium (Kostolatz): the importance of the latter is shown by a large field of ruins, and the multitude of the artistic remains smuggled through Servia. In Lower Moesia (between the Balkan and the Danube), Roman civilization began with the establishment of a legion at Novae (near Svischtova), Durostorum (Silistria) and Troesmis (Iglitza near Galatz).

Even in Dacia, the latest province and abandoned after 170 years (comprising Transylvania, the Banate, Moldavia and Wallachia), 1,500 years have not fully destroyed the Roman work. The country was repeopled with settlers from various provinces (especially Dalmatia and Asia Minor) and the Roman city system spread more thoroughly than in the other lands on the Danube. A large number of most various remains attest the existence of over 100 more or less prosperous Roman towns, mostly in Transylvania. Sarmizegetusa, the capital converted by Trajan into a Roman colony, remained the central town and governor's residence; twelve Wallachian villages occupy its area; the rock of the capitol, and the arena of the amphitheatre may still be seen. How important the military centre, Apulum, was, is shown by the extensive ruins round about the modern Karlsburg. A series of village communes grew in Dacia into cities, and the military and road stations, the network of which covered the country, gradually became more or less cities.

These facts, which might easily be amplified, prove the

literal accuracy of Pliny's statement in a letter to Trajan, that no province lacked skilful and inventive architects. Many were in the service of the State as engineers and building experts in the armies, but the private architects must have been far more numerous.

Municipal patriotism, one of the best aspects of ancient city life, so highly developed and promoted by the relative independence of the towns, incited the communes and private citizens to provide necessary and useful buildings and institutions at enormous cost and sacrifice. In ancient times the fervent desire of each man to present a worthy and splendid appearance actuated also the corporations, and drove them to efforts often beyond their power. This was accentuated on Greek soil by the ' ancient Hellenic disease ', the fierce jealousy of the cities amongst themselves.

The Roman colonies were to be ' microcosms of the capital ', as their adaptation of Roman names showed: two cities colonized under Augustus, which had seven districts each, Ariminum and Antioch in Pisidia, named them after Roman regions, e.g. Cermalus, Aventine, Velabrum, Vicus Tuscus ; this must have been a common usage. Thus Falerii had a Via Sacra, Ostia a Campus Martius, Herculaneum a Palatine region, Beneventum an Esquiline, Lugdunum and Mattiacum, the capital of the Chatti, a Vatican, Aquileia, a region called Serapis and Isis. The right of having a capitol, which, as at Rome, had its temples of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, or of setting up a statue of Marsyas on the forum, as at Rome, up to Caracalla's time was limited to colonies. At some places, e.g., Cologne, Trèves, Florence, Cagliari, the tradition has been preserved in such church names as Sta. Maria in Capitole.

Public building was intrusted either to special commissioners (*curatores operum*) or to annual officials, who generally accepted the lowest tender and took them over after completion. ' When cities are letting out a contract for temples or *colossi* ', says Plutarch, ' they listen to the competing artists, who submit their designs, and then select the cheapest and promptest offer.

The extent, import and object of city buildings is shown by the correspondence between Pliny, when governor of Bithynia, and Trajan (*c.* 111–113 A.D.). Imperial leave was necessary for all new erections. Pliny obtained such a licence

for a new bath at Prusa on Olympus, 'as the glory of the reign and the dignity of the city demanded'; the bath was built on the ruins of a house, and one of the ugliest places in the town was made beautiful. At Nicomedia an aqueduct, which had cost the city 30,329,000 sesterces (£330,000) was begun and abandoned, as also a second one on which 200,000 sesterces had already been spent. Trajan then sanctioned a third aqueduct, which was to bring water into the upper city as well on arches, partly of square blocks, and partly of bricks; Pliny assured him that in utility and beauty it would be worthy of Trajan's reign. Shortly before the city had commenced building a new forum. At Nicaea a new theatre had already absorbed over 10,000,000 sesterces (£108,750); private individuals had guaranteed the decoration of it with a colonnade above the auditorium and basilicas around. But before the main building was finished, great fissures rendered repairs almost useless. At the same time, in place of the old gymnasium, which had been burnt down, a much larger one was laid out; but the architect who undertook to complete the work declared the walls too weak for the contemplated load, despite their immense thickness (22 Roman feet). At Claudiopolis huge city baths were in progress. For an aqueduct to bring water 16 *millia* to Sinope Trajan gave his licence, should the expense not be too much for the city, as it would contribute to health and amenity. Amastris, a fine and splendid city, possessed a long stately street, along the whole length of which a malodorous water course flowed: Trajan sanctioned its being filled up at the expense of the city.

This prosperity of the cities and the outlay on civic architecture in Bithynia may be presumed for the rest of the Empire. Buildings to benefit a whole district were undertaken by several cities in common, e.g., the bridge at Alcántara finished in 105–6 at the cost of eleven *municipia* of Lusitania.

Part of the regular city revenue was the entrance-money paid by men and women elected to posts of honour and priesthoods, or to the decurionate, or the second rank, the *Augustalitas* and the *seviratus* which controlled it. These fees varied according to the importance of the place and the office. For the duumvirate 2,000, 3,000, 4,000 or 10,000 sesterces were paid (10,000 at Pompeii); for the aedileship 4,000, even 20,000, for the decurionate 1,000, 2,000 or 20,000; and for priest-

hoods, by the pontifex 10,000, or even 55,000, for the flaminate 2,000, and at Verecunda and Diana in Numidia 10,000, at Lambaesis 12,000, and 2,000 for the sevirate. The sum of 400,000, which a woman elected *flaminica* for life at Calama in Numidia promised for building a theatre, was quite exceptional. But the invariable custom was to exceed the minimum, or render additional services, e.g., give spectacles, feasts, or buildings. Thus, one Titus Flavius Justinus at Porto Torres in Sardinia paid for his election to the highest post (the *quinquennalitas*) 35,000, besides himself providing a tank, and the water to fill it. At Aeclanum the *quattuorviri*, by the decree of the city council, paid for their election, by making and paving a road through the cattle-market. At Lanuvium (Città Lavigna) the accumulated capital of the priests' entrance fees and other revenue, was by permission of Severus and Caracalla used to build *thermae*.

This municipal patriotism which made the cities exert themselves and vie, even beyond their means, in building, generally animated the prosperous citizens, who were also incited by the love of perpetual fame, of their name being handed down by inscriptions on great buildings, guaranteed imperishable by the law. But the ambition which is sated by civic office, panegyrics, wreaths, statues, seats of honour, was incentive enough to much generosity, and even to ruinous extravagance; and public opinion, which, in all the ancient Republics, expected and demanded of the rich great public services, drove many against their will to great sacrifices. In fact, in every city large or small throughout the Empire astonishingly great sums were always being given in voluntary contributions for communal purposes, and the buildings erected by private munificence often excelled the municipal ones in size and importance, and enabled the cities to retrench. The erection of public buildings by individual private munificence did not need imperial sanction, 'unless undertaken out of rivalry with another town, or unless they caused public disturbance, or were erected near a theatre or amphitheatre'. In literature and in provincial monuments, there are very numerous evidences of such buildings for general use on a princely or small scale, put up by wealthy individuals, such as temples, porticoes, theatres, amphitheatres, or bridges; or less opulent efforts, the paving of streets, the levelling of the public playgrounds,

the erection of sun-dials or booths in the market, or stone tables for goods, provision for proper weights and measures, etc. After Nerva's reign cities might receive legacies, and bequests for public buildings became common, or the heir might be obliged to build a bath, theatre, or *stadium*.

Some examples will show how frequently, and with what magnificent results, private individuals took part in the embellishment of their cities. After the destruction of Cremona in 69 A.D. the *fora* and temples were restored by private local munificence. At Como, the grandfather of Pliny the Younger's third wife built in his own name and that of his son a splendid colonnade, and gave the town a capital with which to adorn the gates. At Oretum in Tarraconesis a citizen 'at the request of the council and the burghers, and in honour of the Divine House (the Emperor's)' built a bridge costing 80,000 sesterces (£870) and gave circus games at the dedication. At Thagaste in Numidia, a Roman knight built a portico costing 300,000 sesterces (£3,267 10*s*.). Crinas the physician had walls built in his native city (Marseilles) and elsewhere for nearly 10,000,000 (£108,250); the two brothers Stertinius, physicians to Claudius, ruined themselves on buildings in Naples. The inscription on the pedestal of a statue of a citizen of Citium in Cyprus states that he built a new theatre and fitted it out entirely at his own expense. Dio of Prusa's grandfather exhausted his property in communal efforts, and Dio himself built a colonnade near the *thermae* in his native city with shops and workshops; the site alone cost him over 50,000 *drachmae* (over £1,850). Gaius Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus in 106 was proconsul of Asia, and, according to Aristides, was a divine agent sent to rejuvenate Pergamus to her present condition: 'if other families were born from the city, the city was born of him, as she acknowledged in council, in assembly, in the theatre, in fact, everywhere, since he had beautified everything'. Most of the inscriptions extant on public buildings in the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia speak of private benefactors.

In the Greek provinces, the sophists, above all, who often earned immense wealth, used to devote a part of it to the architectural decoration of their native place or residence. Nicetes laid out great streets at Smyrna, and extended the city to the gate on the Ephesus road. Alexander of Cotyaeum, in the exaggerated expression of Aristides, made a new city of

Cotyaeum. Damianus of Ephesus, a pupil of Aristides and Hadrian, joined the temple of Diana at Ephesus with the city by a covered way one stadium long to permit the devout to reach the temple rain-proof, and in the sanctuary he built a vast hall for sacrificial banquets, ornamented gorgeously with pavonazzetto. His descendants, too, were honoured there for 'their contempt of money'.

But Herodes Atticus (born at Marathon in 101, died in 177), one of the richest and noblest men of his time, and consul in 143, the principal sophist of his day, outdid all others in his unexampled and more than princely munificence. It was his ambition to acquire fame amongst his contemporaries by his oratory, and among posterity by his vast and splendid buildings for the common benefit; we possess considerable fragments of the latter, which are often alluded to; of the former nothing remains. In 125 Herodes was praefect of the free cities of Asia, when his father, Tiberius Claudius Atticus, enabled him to bestow a magnificent gift upon the city of Troas (Alexandria), by supplementing Hadrian's grant of three million drachmae for an aqueduct by the four million (over £150,000) still required. Later, Herodes' munificence extended to Italy; he gave an aqueduct to Canusium (Canosa di Puglia): but his principal care was Greece, Attica, and Athens above all, near which he passed his latter days, at Cephisia, which is still a summer resort. He subsidized cities in Euboea, the Peloponnese, and Boeotia, revived Oricum in Epirus, built a covered theatre in Corinth, and at Olympia an aqueduct with a *Nymphaeum*, a building with niches that overtopped the whole Altis; at Thermopylae he built sulphur baths, and decorated the stadium at Delphi with Pentelican marble. He even contemplated a canal through the isthmus of Corinth. In Attica he restored a temple of Athene in the deme of Myrrhinus: in Athens in four years he covered the panathenaic stadium of Lycurgus with Pentelican marble, built along one of the hills a temple of the Goddess of Fortune with an ivory image, and, at the foot of the Acropolis, in honour of his wife Regilla, an Odeum for 6,000 persons in cedar wood, which, according to Pausanias, beggared anything similar for size and splendour. It is now being excavated.

Thus the most generous of the rich did not restrict themselves to their native cities, though no one may have been

able to say like Herodes, when accused of the murder of Regilla (his prosecutor was boasting of munificence to an Italian city): 'I could also say many things of the same kind about myself, if the whole world were my tribunal'.

It was the rule for municipals, on becoming senators, when their native citizenship lapsed, or on rising to high positions at Rome, or for Roman grandees, who were patrons of or otherwise connected with another city, to testify their benevolence or attachment to it by buildings or other gifts. Pliny the Younger by his will left Comum, his native city, a large legacy for the building and maintenance of *thermae*, and acknowledged the honour paid him by Tifernum Tiberinum, which elected him its patron in his youth, by building a temple, and giving a banquet at the dedication. Ummidia Quadratilla, a lady of high position, who owned a palace in Rome in the twelfth region, and died in 107 at the age of 80, came from Casinum; an inscription of four lines found there states that she built at her expense an amphitheatre and a temple for the inhabitants. Dasumius (probably the author of the Senatus Consultum Dasumianum, 101) had begun decorating Corduba, his native city, with public buildings, and by his will (made in 109) left the completion of the task to a commission of jurists and experts. One Dasumius Tullus (consul under Marcus Aurelius) completed at Tarquinii some *thermæ*, for which his father, Publius Tullius Varro (consul under Trajan) had bequeathed the city 3,300,000 sesterces (£35,892 10*s*.), augmenting the capital and extending the building; the reason of this munificence must have been similar to the foregoing.

Imperial freedmen also often adorned their native homes with buildings. Cleander, the powerful freedman of Commodus, spent part of his immense fortune on houses, baths and other 'institutions of use both to individuals and cities'. Lastly, dependent or allied princes often showed their generosity and love of pomp by buildings even outside their dominions. Herod the Great filled Judaea with many splendid buildings, principally in honour of Augustus (the great port of Caesarea was the most magnificent), as also cities in Phoenicia, Syria, Asia Minor and Greece. Athens, Sparta, Nicopolis and Pergamus, according to Josephus, were full of his gifts; at Antioch he paved a dirty street 20 stadia long (2¼ miles) with marble flags, and covered

it with a colonnade to keep off the rain. The later Herodeans also were great builders, especially Herodes Antipas, the founder of the new capital Tiberias.

One of the motives of this munificence in princes and Roman nobles was the example, or even command of the Emperors (such as was contained in Nerva's 'glorious speech'), who often purposely set the example by continually erecting fine public buildings, not only in Rome, but in Italy and the provinces, and contributing to new erections on the frequent occasions of inundations, conflagrations and earthquakes.

Probably, though seldom mentioned except in Rome, great fires did tremendous damage. In Nicomedia shortly before Pliny's arrival, a fire had raged: the municipality of this important city had no appliances for extinguishing fires. Pliny proposed the formation of a guild of 150 carpenters to act as a fire brigade, but Trajan would not sanction it, and only enjoined the procuring of the necessary implements, and called upon householders to act with the people in case of need. But even in cities where there were guilds of carpenters and mat-makers (the mats being soaked and used as extinguishers, like the sails of ships in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Holland and Bremen), little was done; the fire brigade of 7,000 men at Rome was the best organized and largest, but of little avail against the incessant fires. And great fires were common outside Rome. In 57–58 Lyons was so completely destroyed by fire, that (in the exaggerated language of Seneca) it was useless to look for it; one night had annihilated this great city and its many splendid buildings, of which one alone would have been an ornament to any other city. It was only gradually rebuilt: in 65 Nero granted 4 million sesterces, the sum which Lyons had formerly offered on the occasion of the great fire at Rome. In 53 A.D. 10 million sesterces were granted for what must have been a great fire at Bologna.

Augustus, at the end of his own history of his reign, says that he has given countless gifts to cities in Italy and the provinces, destroyed by fire or earthquake. Other records confirm such grants of his in Naples, Paphos in Cyprus, Chios, and several cities in Asia Minor—Laodicea on the Lycus, Thyatira, and Tralles. Vespasian too 'restored many cities after fire or earthquake, so that they were more beautiful than before'. The remark of Tacitus that Laodicea, after

an earthquake in 60, repaired the damage without assistance from the State, shows that it was an exceptional case. At Puteoli there still exists a monument put up to Tiberius by fourteen cities of Asia Minor, more or less destroyed by earthquake (twelve in 17 A.D., and the two others in 23 and 29); he had generously contributed to the rebuilding. The *Chronicle of the World* by Eusebius records eleven earthquakes from the reign of Augustus to that of Commodus, ten of them in Greece and the East, but even for these countries the list is incomplete. The great earthquake is not mentioned, which, between 138 and 142, devastated Sicyon on the mainland of Greece, the islands Rhodes and Cos, and Lycia and Caria in Asia. Antoninus Pius had the cities restored on a magnificent scale; Stratonicea alone received 1,000,000 sesterces. Lesbos and the nearer islands and the coast opposite were especially liable to earthquakes: in 151–52 Mytilene was devastated and Asia Minor violently shaken. Of the earthquakes chronicled by Eusebius the most important were that of 115 (which completely overwhelmed Antioch for the third time), that of 122, which severely damaged Nicomedia and Nicaea, and that of 178, which shook all Ionia, and overwhelmed Smyrna. The imperial grants for restoration after 122 and 178 are expressly mentioned. In the West Campania 'was never secure from this curse'; in 63 (February 5) Pompeii was very severely damaged, Herculaneum somewhat less, and Naples and Nuceria to some extent.

But such restorations after earthquakes were but a small part of the building operations undertaken by all the emperors (except Tiberius) on a large scale in and outside Rome, with a view to the good of the cities, and also to the remunerative employment of large numbers of free labourers. But the Julian and Flavian emperors paid most regard to Italy, outside Rome; thus Claudius built a channel from the Lacus Fucinus, and the new harbour near Ostia (Portus), with huge moles and a lofty lighthouse; and Nero the harbour of Antium, and the lighthouses of Puteoli and Ravenna. Vespasian, apart from his large buildings in Rome, generally seems to have confined himself to restorations in Italy and the provinces, without, however (in Rome at least), having time to finish everything; and as in Titus' short reign another great fire devastated part of Rome, Domitian had space enough

there to satisfy his infatuation for building: he also had some roads made in Italy.

Trajan immediately after his accession commenced his great building projects in Rome, which almost surpassed all previous undertakings; in his later years they were so extensive that there were hardly artisans enough in Rome and the neighbourhood; he also provided for all Italy on the largest scale, laid out roads, harbours, waterworks, and also carried out important works in the provinces, not reckoning the establishment of new colonies and cities; the greatest of these, according to Dio, was the bridge over the Danube (on 20 pillars and 1,017 metres long). After the removal of the bridge the pillars still standing seemed to him to show that there was nothing impossible to man.

Hadrian's first act of administration was a remission of taxes amounting to 900 million sesterces (over £9,750,000), and his buildings give an idea of the inexhaustible resources of the Roman Empire and of the indefatigability of the man. He decorated Rome with splendid buildings, restored from 125–130 the Pantheon which was burnt down in 110, created for himself a fairy residence of architectural splendour in his villa at Tibur, and, on his journeys through the whole of the Empire (121–134) was accompanied by a regular army of architects, masons, artists and artisans, divided in military fashion into cohorts to carry out his inexhaustible schemes with the aid of native workmen. Thus he founded new cities like Pons Aelius on the Pictish Wall, Hadrianotherae in Moesia, Hadrianopolis in Thrace, Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem and Antinoöpolis in Egypt.

Of the buildings, with which Hadrian is said by his biographer to have decorated all the cities he visited, only a few are known of in the Northern and Western provinces, e.g., a temple of Augustus at Tarraco, a basilica in honour of Plotina at Nemausus, an aqueduct at Sarmizegetusa, one of the 'countless' ones that bore his name. A few examples may be given out of the long list of his buildings, yet traceable, in the East and Greece, where nearly every town could point to his boons, and many rightly hailed him their Deliverer and Founder, or, like Palmyra and Petra in Arabia, named themselves after him.

On the Isthmus there is a dangerous mountain path on the

Scironian cliffs ; Hadrian at enormous effort cut the rocks and underpinned strongly, and made a long and convenient road for heavy carts, some 6,000 feet long, a feat now almost unimaginable at this spot ; from the high valley of Stymphalus he constructed a mighty aqueduct to convey an abundant supply of cool mountain water to Corinth, which he decorated with splendid *thermæ*. But, above all, he rejuvenated Athens, created a new Hadrianopolis in the south-east of the city, centreing round the colossal temple of Olympian Zeus, which had remained unfinished for 600 years ; in it were 104 Corinthian columns 60 feet high, in three rows in front and two rows on the sides, of which fifteen are yet standing. In the other part of Athens he built a library with 120 columns and walls of Phrygian marble (*pavonazzetto*), in which the rooms glittered with alabaster, gilded soffits, pictures and statues, and a gymnasium with 100 columns of Libyan marble (*giallo antico*). He commenced an aqueduct from Cephisia for the new part of Athens, completed in 140 by Antoninus Pius, who also embellished the health-resort at Epidaurus and restored important buildings in Rome and Italy, e.g., the lighthouse at Portus and the harbours at Terracina and Puteoli, and built new ones—the harbour at Caieta, a bath at Ostia, an aqueduct at Antium, and temples at Lanuvium. He also subsidized several cities, enabling them to restore and build anew, and, after the earthquake of 138–142 rebuilt the districts ; he also built in Syria and Carthage. Septimius Severus erected many splendid buildings in several cities. Of the later emperors, according to hostile Christian evidence, Diocletian was possessed of an infatuation for building, which sorely taxed the provinces. 'Here basilicas arose and there a circus, here a mint and there an armoury, here a palace for his consort and there one for his daughter. Often quarters of a town and their inhabitants had to be cleared out, as though it had been occupied by an enemy, to make room for new buildings. And when these buildings were finished, to the ruin of entire provinces, he disapproved, and ordered them to be started afresh on a new plan'. But, as a fact, this passion was strictly for State purposes. Everywhere, at his behest, monumental buildings arose at Alexandria, Antioch, Palmyra, Milan, and Carthage. His *thermae* at Rome surpassed those of Caracalla. Justinian was a legitimate descendant of the

Roman emperors in his love of building, and Procopius dedicates three books to this subject.

The above account will give an idea how magnificently the emperors provided for architecture in the Italian towns, and, after Trajan, in the provinces as well. But owing to the scanty and accidental notices and remains, it is difficult to estimate, even approximately, the extent of the imperial buildings outside Rome. For example, Aristides, in a letter requesting Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to restore Smyrna after the earthquake of 178, incidentally touches on the care shown by them for the Italian cities, which they had rescued from decay; and, in the biography of Marcus Aurelius, it is said 'he afforded help to tottering cities'. The gorgeous public buildings lavished on Rome by the emperors, need no specific mention here.

During the first two centuries architecture, though used for public buildings to a vast extent, must also have been called into requisition for private purposes yet more, and to a greater degree than at any other epoch, for private prosperity was greater and more widely spread, and this particular art was more in vogue and accordance with the tendencies of the age than any other. Of the splendour of the palaces and villas in Italy mention has been made. But the greatness of luxury in provincial private residences is shown by some literary notices, and by the well preserved remains of villas on the Orontes, as well as by those of Damianus near Ephesus. One of the many villas of Herodes Atticus at Cephisia (north-east of Athens) had tasteful, richly furnished and well-lighted baths, and long pleasant walks, and in the greatest heat the house and the park afforded shade, and brooks and birds could everywhere be heard. The interior decoration was lavish, for Herodes, after the death of his consort Regilla, had his rooms painted black and decorated with black curtains, black carpets, and black marble. The suburban villa of the Laberii at Uthina (near Tunis) contained 67 mosaic floorings with figures on them. A mosaic found near Constantine represents a castle, of large extent and several floors, and flanking towers, and the owner hunting on horseback, and on another is his stable with the names of the horses. A mosaic found near Hadrametum (Suza) represents the lady of the house fanning herself under a palm; a servant is holding up a sun-

shade, and she has a dog in leash. In the magnificent villas and gardens of Carthage the Vandals luxuriated as much as the former owners. For the fifth and sixth centuries we have pictures of life on the pleasant country estates, on the Garonne with its numerous amusements, such as falconry and trips on gondolas with lofty balustrades, pillows and awnings, and games with dice artistically worked in mosaics. Ausonius was reminded on these banks of the similar banks of the Moselle clad with vines and lined with villas; and numerous finds here and on the Saar prove that the entire region, including parts of the Eiffel, even now deserted, abounded in Roman residences of great size, and richly furnished with mosaic floors and sculpture (e.g., the villas at Nennig near Trèves and Kreuznach, and at Welschbillig), with columned halls affording an open view. In the Zehntland (*agri decumates*) the villas, as is shown by the remains, had baths and aqueducts, with marble ornaments, sculptures, mosaics and bronzes. From the excavations in the Rhineland and Switzerland, even on the frontiers, it seems the rich always had mosaics and wall-paintings. Even in Eastern Switzerland, which was never fully Romanized, where Roman settlements are scattered, both are found, though somewhat insipid. Britain too, had in time, as the remains (mosaics especially) show, in the centre and the south as many richly decorated villas as any other province of the empire. Even temporary residences were decorated to suit the decadent taste. Hadrian had to restore discipline in the German armies and ordered all banqueting-halls, colonnades, crypts and gardens to be cleared away from the camps.

§ 2. Aims and Application of the Plastic Arts and Painting.

(*a*) *Decorative Art*

The vast scope afforded to architecture employed all the plastic arts in interior and external decoration. Nowhere, least of all at Rome, was an important public building erected, without the chiseller, the stucco-worker, the carver, the founder, the painter and mosaic maker being called in. Statues, single or in groups, filled gables, roofs, niches, interstices of columns, staircases in the temples, theatres, amphitheatres, basilicas, *thermae*, bridges, arches, portals and viaducts: the

temple of Scaurus contained 3,000 bronze statues. Triumphal arches generally had at their summits equestrian figures, trophies, chariots of four or six horses, driven by figures of Victory. Reliefs and medallions bedecked the frieze, and reliefs or paintings the walls ; ceilings were gay with stucco or coloured work, and the floors with glittering mosaics. All the architectural framework, supports, thresholds, lintels, mouldings, windows, and even gutters were overloaded with decorative figures.

It is difficult to imagine the almost magically rapid growth of public buildings at Rome during the first centuries. These incessant undertakings in themselves sufficed to give continuous employment to hosts of artists and artisans, besides the architects and workmen. Agrippa, in his aedileship (33 B.C.) laid out magnificent waterworks for Rome ; in one year, according to Pliny, 700 basins, 500 fountains, and 130 *castella* (reservoirs), many of them highly ornate, and used for decorative purposes, 400 marble columns and 300 statues of bronze and marble. Later outlay was not less lavish : Claudius conducted the water of his aqueducts ' through many decorated basins '. The basin of Orpheus in the fifth region, and of Ganymede in the seventh, were doubtless named after statues. Domitian was ridiculed for the number of large arcades and triumphal arches with chariots and triumphal insignia that he set up throughout Rome. The triumphal gate described by Martial illustrates the scale of these buildings : this gate was erected in January, 93, after Domitian's return from the Sarmatian War. Medallions decorated the spaces above the arches, bas-reliefs or round sculptures the entablature and the upper parts : two *quadrigae* of elephants, both driven by colossal statues of the Emperor, crowned the building. Representations on coins indicate the splendour of the Forum of Trajan, which outdid all the rest ; its several parts (the Basilica Ulpia, the Triumphal Arch, and the Temple put up to him by Hadrian), were richly decorated and carved, and considerable remains were excavated by Napoleon I.

Public places in Rome and other cities were equally well provided with plastic ornaments, chiefly statues. The vast number of these in the cities of Greece and Asia was only partly affected by the systematic plundering of two centuries : the Romans had almost emptied the *ἀγοραί* of small places like Andros and Myconus, to fill the temples and *fora* of Rome.

One most extensive pillage took place under Nero : his agent, the freedman Acratus, ' traversed the whole world, not passing by a single village '. Apparently Acratus, like other art-pillagers, spared Rhodes alone ; for, according to official lists under Vespasian, there were 3,000 statues there, though those at Athens, Olympia and Delphi were equally numerous : hence to compute 10,000–20,000 for Greece and the islands at this time would be too low an estimate. But even two and a half centuries later, when Constantinople was being embellished, these ancient remains were not exhausted. The officials of the chancery of Constantius found ' in the ancient cities ' enough to pilfer, and ' marvels of art which had defied time were transported by sea to make fullers' houses more gorgeous than palaces of old '. Yet it has been left for our age to estimate the wealth of the Hellenic countries in works of art, which survived the plunder of antiquity and the Middle Ages, by the discovery of the sculptures of Phidias, the Venus of Milo, the Hermes of Praxiteles, and the ruins of the altar of Zeus at Pergamus.

Much of ancient sculpture decorated the public buildings, or stood as votive offerings in the Temples : but enough was left to fill the streets and squares with ancient or modern figures in bronze or marble of gods, heroes, public servants, and famous men and women : how, during the first century, any gaps in the list were repaired, and the stock increased, will be shown later.

In the beginning of the Empire the statuary of Italy (outside Rome) and the Western provinces, though considerable, could not compare with the collections in the Greek provinces, since the Alexandrian epoch. But, even in the later Republic, these cities were not deficient in such decoration. Vitruvius says that the excellence of the stone quarried near Tarquinii (on the Lake of Bolsena) was attested by the statues at Ferentinum (in Etruria), where there were large statues, well carved, small figures (probably reliefs) and delicate ornamentations in flowers and acanthus work, made of this stone, and preserving an appearance of newness. Many of the newer statues in many Italian cities were no doubt those of the victorious kings and generals of Rome, probably the same as those selected by Augustus in 2 B.C. for the colonnades of the Temple of Mars in his forum. At Arezzo seven pedestals have been found of

statues of Marcus Valerius Maximus, Appius Claudius Caecus, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Gaius Marius and Lucius Licinius Lucullus ; at Pompeii two (Aeneas and Romulus) ; at Lavinium one of Aeneas Silvius, the son of Aeneas and Lavinia ; possibly the Marius found at Otricoli and seen by Plutarch at Ravenna, was part of the same series.

Generally every city aimed at a decoration of the public places with statues, and the *fora* in all the larger towns were colonnaded and thus decked, e.g., the forum at Arles as late as the fifth century. At Cirta (Constantine) traffic in the forum was obstructed by the number of statues, erected by ambition or the civic spirit, which could not afford public buildings. Statues were also accepted as the entrance-money of priests and officials, and testamentary provision was made for their restoration. A provincial priest in Baetica had held the highest priesthoods and city offices at Corduba, and, in recognition of the honour, had statues worth 400,000 sesterces put up (£4,350), probably to the number of 40–130. Statues intended for public places would be mostly of gods and emperors. Representations of the *lares* or of the *genius* of the city will generally have been included, especially as in the Roman forum there stood the *Genius* of the Roman people (a statue in gold, or gilded bronze after Aurelian's reign). In the West, too, the increasing expenditure on personal statues contributed to the number in the public places of the cities.

But plastic art was employed for the adornment of private houses even more than for public buildings, and was indispensable in palaces, villas, parks and gardens. Even in Sulla's time, pictures and statues were as much part of the furniture of a rich house as carpets and silver plate, and so too in the large country houses. Only exceptionally were there none : e.g., in Seius' house at Ostia, and in Augustus' villas, where antiques and natural curiosities replaced them. Cicero bought works of art through Atticus for his so-called Academy at his Tusculan villa. He offered 20,400 sesterces (about £180) for some Megarian statues ; Atticus also bought for him *hermeracles* of Pentelic marble with bronze heads and a *hermathena* ; and Cicero asked him to get him as many suitable objects of art as he could, especially reliefs which he might fit into the stucco of his little *atrium*, and two embossed and

decorated well covers. All he bought of Atticus was for his Tusculan villa; his villa at Caieta he intended to furnish, as soon as he could afford it. But with some four or five statues (including Bacchantes and a Silenus), which Fadius Gallus had bought for him, he was displeased, as too dear, and not in style with his academy. He had had new couches put in a colonnade and wanted them ornamented with paintings; for, above all, he loved paintings. In this Cicero, with his poor taste and little love of art, strikingly illustrates the fashion of decorating houses and country-seats artistically.

Under the Empire the fashion spread. If a rich man's house were burnt down, the friends who contributed to the rebuilding gave 'nude marble statues', famous bronzes, old ornaments from temples in Asia Minor, and busts of Minerva for the library. The baths of freedmen abounded in statues. Villas and gardens were filled with them and people spoke of 'marble gardens'. Round one spring in the garden of Arruntius Stella stood a troop of marble figures of boys, in a grotto close by these was a Hercules: and the rest was on the same scale. Domitius Tullus, a rich man, had such a stock of neglected masterpieces that he could fill a large park, on the very day of purchase, with numerous ancient statues. Silius Italicus owned several villas, each with a multitude of pictures and statues. In the gardens of Regulus in Trastevere, one huge space was filled with colonnades, and the bank lined with statues of himself. We may take the decorations of houses and gardens at Pompeii as typical of Italian cities. In 1894–5 the house of the Vettii was excavated, and 192 pictures were found on the walls: the many statues in the garden, now restored, are almost all perfect; of twelve statuettes, which spouted water into a marble basin, nine are preserved, and other sculpture in the garden as well.

If excavations in previous centuries had been more accurately recorded, we might have had as exact a picture of many Roman villas, as the old sketches of the so-called villa of the Epicurean philosopher at Herculaneum. It contained a large courtyard with a long road with semi-circular ends, and a garden round it; the whole space was covered with columns, which carried beams up to the garden wall, creating an arbour all round. In the arbour there were special places for washing and bathing, semi-circular and square alternately; in every

corner there stood a marble *terminus* with a bronze bust, and in between the columns *hermae* (heads of Romans and busts of gods, Greek poets and philosophers, portraits real or fictitious) and bronzes of females in alternation. In front of each herm was a little basin, with a little column, with a sort of shell decoration rising out of a shell-like vessel at the bottom, and spouting up water. Round another small pond was a group of boys, satyrs and *sileni*, as powers of water, and in the centre Silenus riding on a leather bottle. A long walk led out of the garden to a raised, round *loggia*, probably set in the sea, with a round floor of mosaics in *africano* and *giallo*. The ten beautiful statues of Apollo and the Muses, which were afterwards completed and placed in the museum at Sans-souci as Achilles with the daughters of Lycomedes, were found in 1729 in the ruins of the so-called villa of Marius at Frascati. The present collection of Azara at Madrid, of at least thirty busts, comes almost entirely from the so-called villa of the Pisos excavated by Azara at Tivoli in 1779.

All such places were excelled by Hadrian's villa at Tivoli in abundance and extent: it was an art-world in itself. Its inexhaustible ruins have enriched the Vatican, the Farnesina, the villas of the d'Este family, the Capitoline Museum and the Villa Albani. As early as Alexander VI, excavations on the site had begun. But the excavations of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, under the superintendence of Pirro Ligorio (1530–1586), the architect of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, yielded but little of the spoil. In the eighteenth century excavations proceeded on a larger scale and under men with an eye to trade in antiques, and great finds were made: Benedict XIV incorporated many of them, especially the Neo-Egyptian statues of the shrine of Canopus or Serapis, in the Capitoline Museum.

Ancient painting and sculpture were also largely used in decoration, e.g., in the park of Domitius Tullus and Vespasian's Temple of Peace. But this was not always possible, and even the most boundless plunder from Greek countries could not satisfy the enormous demand, augmented as it was by the constant huge fires in Rome, and, even in the first century, fresh gaps involved fresh production in man. Hence the greater part of the demand for art must have been supplied by new work, all the more as in many cases work referring to the present was required.

Ancient decorative art was then not only employed on a far larger scale than at any later time, but also far more generally in all branches, subserving all needs and tastes, the highest and lowest, the greatest extravagance and modesty, the Sultan's moods of the lords of the world, or beautifying the poor slave's cell. Modern art has always been more or less aristocratic, serving a small privileged set, the church, the plutocracy, and the mighty, sometimes in particular circumstances bringing beauty into middle class, but never into lower class, life. Art has dwelt in great centres of national life, the capital and the palace, and embellishing these, has left whole provinces and lands bare. Correspondingly, appreciation of art has become restricted to smaller circles, and has implied an education and power of abstraction non-existent in the masses. But the art of the Roman Empire was pregnant for all grades of culture and society and spread taste for most of her productions in far wider circles. It created furniture finely conceived and expertly made for connoisseurs to enjoy, and filled temples and public places with comprehensible figures, high walls and floors with gay pictures, which fascinated even the man in the street. Art made the capital of the world a city of marvel sand conferred on the *municipia* and colonies of Italy decorations, differing according to local taste and prosperity, but far above modern ornament, and by no means confined to public buildings. The excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum has revealed to wondering modernity the quality and quantity of private ornamentation, plastic and pictorial, even in the smaller cities of the empire, and its estimation as a prime necessity even in modest households.

Costly materials, bronze and marble figures, could only be used by the rich for their houses and gardens, but were luxuries common not merely in Rome. At Pompeii and Herculaneum spring-water ran out of holes and bottles held by marble or bronze satyrs, *sileni* and nymphs. But the large demand for artistic work in the middle and lower classes produced a large production in cheaper material, clay and stucco. Stucco relief and decorations, painted or unpainted, on mouldings and ceilings were common in houses, as Pliny says and excavations have shown. Plastic busts adorned the rooms, the studies and libraries of such as could not afford marble; in Martial's and Juvenal's time all the mock-stoics and philosophizers had

plaster busts of Democritus, Zeno, Plato and others, with scrubby beards. Architectural decorations in clay, on columns, windows, mouldings, and gullets and friezes for inside and outside walls, have been numerously preserved; they are often painted in one colour, or the natural colours of the object srepresented; and these trifling articles of manufacture reproduce the greatest discoveries and noblest forms of the great period of Greek art.

Besides plastic art in soft materials, frequently in combination with it, painting was still more common for interior decoration, when incrustation in marble would be too costly: and colours always went with stucco. At Pompeii the better class house glittered with bright decorations lightly chiselled here and there, but often very beautiful; numerous references and ruins show that such interior wall-decoration was as widely spread as Roman civilization through the Empire. The discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum utterly transformed our notions of ancient painting, and yet are but an inconsiderable fraction of the pictorial art of the Empire, and only illustrate part of the subjects and material of ancient decoration. Mythology supplied most of the subjects at all times: the fight by the ships before Troy is mentioned as a common theme. But historical scenes were also depicted, e.g. the Esquiline pictures of scenes from the legendary foundation of Rome, the description by Apollinaris Sidonius of the villa of Pontius Leontius, Burgus, which contained scenes from Jewish history, and events in the third Mithridatic Wars, e.g., Mithridates sacrificing horses to the sea-god, the siege of Cyzicus, and Lucullus relieving the town (with a soldier swimming through the sea and holding up a letter). In Greece, a man who had never seen a battle was said not even to have seen one on a wall-painting; but battle scenes must have been common elsewhere as well. Phaedrus says that comic pictures of animal life were also usual: in his time (the reign of Tiberius) the *tabernae* used to have pictures of the War of the Mice and the Weasels.

With the other decorative arts, wall-paintings were common down to the last days of the Empire. In Diocletian's tariff of 301 A.D., in which the maximum wage for all ordinary work is fixed, the following are the house-decorators mentioned: marble-workers (for incrustations and ornaments), mosaic-

workers, whitewashers, wall-painters, picture-painters; prices for bronze-foundries in reliefs and statues, and for modellings in stucco and clay are fixed. In a rescript of Constantine (337 A.D). to the administrator of the Western Provinces on the immunity of artists and craftsmen from communal burdens, the same workmen are specified, and must therefore still have been settled in those towns. Valentinian gave painters yet larger privileges, if free-born, by a rescript to the legate of Africa in 374 A.D. They were to have workshops in the city free of rent, were allowed to settle in every city, and were not to be compelled by officials to execute 'sacred' portraits (of the emperors) or paint public buildings gratuitously. Stone sculpture for decorative purposes lasted on to the end of the Empire, for the early report of the Martyrdom of the Five Masons under Diocletian was written by a man personally acquainted with the quarries of Pannonia, the scene of the story. The Emperor used to order porphyry pillars with foliate capitals, basins shaped like *conchae*, and bowls (*lacus*) decked with fruits, or acanthus, or embossed figures, *victoriae*, Cupids, lions that spouted water, eagles, stags, and other animals, all as ornaments for marble well-covers and basins: a proof of the extensive use of stone in architectural ornament.

In plastic art and in wall-paintings, down to the last, even if the scene was contemporary, ancient models were followed. In the Imperial Palace of Milan there was a picture of the Caesars seated on their thrones, with Scythian chiefs kneeling: in 452 Attila had it altered, so as to give the Caesars the suppliant posture. In the banqueting-hall of the Imperial Palace at Aquileia was a picture of Constantine and Fausta as children; Fausta is handing her brother a helmet decorated with gold and jewels, and a waving plume. Ausonius, who wrote an epigram on a picture representing Gratian laying low a lion with a single shot from a bow, says that mythological scenes were even then common: he describes a wall-painting in Aeolus' house at Trèves; heroines, whom love has ruined, torturing and binding Cupid. Libanius speaks of pictures of the divine amours, and describes two landscapes in the Pompeian manner: one with country buildings, men, animals, a two-wheeled laden ox-cart, and a temple with trees; the other with a wreathed festive company under an awning amongst the trees, and a city with walls and turrets in the background. Apollinaris

Sidonius (Bishop of Clermont *c.* 450 A.D.) hates heathen art for its themes and its nudity, and had the walls of his bathroom on his country estate simply whitewashed: 'here no pictures are to be seen of bodies ugly in their naked beauty, such as, under the pretence of honouring art, dishonour the artist; no comedians with ridiculous grimaces and harlequin garb, no wrestlers in close grip'. Luxorius wrote under Thrasamund the king of the Vandals (496–523) in Africa, and describes pictures no doubt common, e.g., Fridamal killing a boar, Romulus killing Remus on the wall of Rome, Diogenes with his beard twitched by a girl. And Christian art, too, had to adopt some of the traditional themes and forms. Painting was early recognized as of importance to the Church. Paulinus of Nola (403) says that the pictures of the Old and New Testaments and the Martyrs in a colonnade near the Basilica of St. Peter at Nola entertained the many pilgrims who could not read, and kept their thoughts from the flesh. Gregory the Great declared pictures to be books for the unlearned.

Mosaics were more durable, and many more remains of them have come down to us in all the provinces (e.g., Spain, France, England, Switzerland, the Rhine-lands, Bavaria, Salzburg, Transylvania, North Africa, where hundreds have been found) than of the wall-paintings; this style of decoration survived the Empire, and must have been very common indeed.

Household furniture manifests the same generality of taste as the homes. At Pompeii alone, whence the refugees must have carried away a great deal, or subsequently dug up much out of the loose ash, the tables, benches, armchairs, sofas, candelabra, vessels, lamps, tripods, toilette utensils and other ornaments, have given modern craft an inexhaustible set of tasteful models. It was not only marble and bronze candelabra that were decked with fantastic plant-like designs, or only vessels of silver and gold that had chased work and graceful handles, or glass vases with figures in various colours in relief; the poor man's earthenware, his paste seal rings, the clay lamps for midnight work, and their covers especially have handed down their wealth of design and figure. Juvenal describes the home of a destitute scholar or poet: a short bed and an old chest with divine Greek poems, which barbarous mice gnawed, a marble table-top, with six little jugs, a tankard (*cantharus*, with vertical handles), and the figure of a

centaur recumbent as support. *Sigilla* (little statues) as ornaments were always welcome presents, and regularly exchanged at the *Saturnalia*; at Rome they were bought in a special market on the slope of the street named after them, *sigillaria*. Amongst the Saturnalia gifts for which Martial has written inscriptions are: clay-figures (Brutus' favourite boy, Hercules, a hunchback); marble figures (a hermaphrodite, Leander); Corinthian bronzes (Hercules, Apollo the lizard-slayer); silver (Minerva); gold (Victoria); and two pictures (Hyacinthus and Danaë). Works of art were usual gifts; Horace apologizes for not being able to give a Scopas or Parrhasius; Seneca commends durable gifts, silver rather than gold, statues rather than clothes and carpets; in Martial's time one busy lawyer looked to receiving on his birthday from his clients works of Phidias.

But the tombstones show most clearly to what an extent art was at the service of the poorest. Sarcophagi with splendid reliefs, were purchasable only by the rich, though much cheaper than nowadays; but, at any rate in the first century, cremation was the rule (in the Streets of the Tombs at Pompeii there is not a single sarcophagus) and burial only came into fashion again about 100 A.D., and gradually became more and more common. Those little marble urns, often strikingly beautiful, with life-like figures 'in which the ashes in their narrow domain still seem to live', mostly came from small workshops, and were purchasable by those of small means. Painting, too, always decorated the interior of tombs, as is shown by the retention of the custom in Christian vaults, and often too the outer walls; even the 'whitewashed' graves of the Evangelist were partly painted. Even the *Columbaria* (large vaults with long rows of niches for cinerary urns), the resting-places of the poor, of slaves and the hapless, sometimes have walls as bright as those of ordinary rooms, the decorations (often poor) covering the unused spaces on the pillars and walls. When a new urn was inserted in the niche that had been bought for it, the mourners looked with satisfaction at the little ornaments, bought out of their savings for the dead. The subjects might be mythological, pictures of daily life, scenery, animals, fruit, flowers; such as Hercules shooting the vulture from Prometheus' liver, Ulysses gazing down on his dying dog Argos, grotesque pygmies fleeing before

a crocodile, jugglers dancing a castagnette dance, a giraffe with a bell round its neck, led by its keeper, as in the amphitheatre, and so on.

(*b*) *Monumental Art*

Sculpture and painting thus found boundless scope in decoration, and, besides this, also in monumental works, intended to immortalize persons and events, on a scale unparalleled during the first two centuries, and enormous even in the third and fourth.

As always, art was the means and not the end with the Romans. Art as applied to make home and city more beautiful, splendid and comfortable, they only learned after the conquest of Greece; but, as a means of recording events and the figures of great personages for contemporaries and posterity, the use of art was congenial to the national temper, as is shown by the ancient custom of noble families, who kept painted wax masks of their ancestors. Public statues go back as far as the Decemvirs (304 B.C.); the oldest one of any certainty is that of the Greek interpreter on the Forum; this, as all that we know of during the two next centuries, was in bronze (first used for sacred images after 269 B.C.); the first statue in gilded bronze was that of Acilius Glabrio, the conqueror of Antiochus, erected by his son in the Temple of Pietas (181 B.C.). About 300 B.C., statues were erected of the kings and famous men of the Early Republic. After the second Punic War the Capitol and Forum were full of statues. In 179 B.C. some of these were removed; in 158 B.C. the censors had all statues of officials cleared away, which were *not* erected by a decree of the people or the Senate. Cato preferred that it should be asked why he had no statue, rather than why he had one; he complained that statues were erected to women in the provinces, a custom which soon spread to Rome. The statue of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, put up at this time, was seen by Pliny in the *porticus* of Octavia; its base, injured in a fire, and afterwards used for a statue of Tisicrates, has recently been discovered.

The custom of informing the people of great events by pictures is also early. Manius Valerius Maximus Messalla painted his sea victory over the Carthaginians and Hiero in Sicily (264 B.C.) on a wall in the Curia Hostilia. Such pictures on wood and linen used to be carried along in triumphal pro-

cessions, e.g., in that of Marcus Marcellus (212 B.C.) a picture of the capture of Syracuse. Aemilius Paullus in 168 sent for a painter from Athens to illustrate his triumph. Lucius Hostilius Mancinus took an outwork of Carthage in 148 and had pictures of the city, its siege and storming, placed in the forum, which he himself explained to the people; this made him popular, and gained him the consulate in 141. Tiberius Gracchus had a banquet painted in the Temple of Freedom, which the Beneventines had given his army in 214 after a victory near by. The slaves enrolled and manumitted for bravery could be seen with the token of liberty. A picture of a gladiatorial combat was first exhibited in the sixth or seventh century by Lucius Terentius Lucanus in the Temple of Diana at Aricia.

Under the Empire the use of art in celebration of persons and events, temporarily and permanently, extended greatly. In the fact ' of the prominence of the principle of description ', ' in the broadly illustrative tone ', painting then was much more like the ancient Egyptian and later Old Assyrian, more like the paintings in the Theban palaces, the alabaster tablets of Ninaveh or the Babylonian tapestries. By such means the Roman emperors addressed their people; pictures replaced manifestoes and proclamations; we may compare the historical and allegorical pictures in medieval Florence and Rome, such as Cola di Rienzi's, with which the people were stirred to passion. Every triumph employed a host of artists, who visualized the conquered country and the campaign for the spectators; often, or perhaps generally, artists' sketches were given to the army for this purpose. At the Judaean triumph of Vespasian and Titus scaffoldings three or four storeys high were hung with gold-embroidered tapestries, and ornaments of gold and ivory; on these pictures and on others the whole course of the war was depicted. ' A rich country was seen being devastated, whole hosts of the foe fleeing, falling or surrendering, huge walls collapsing under the blows of battering engines; strong fortresses being stormed, the round walls of populous towns being mounted, the army pouring in and spreading murder, and the defenceless begging for mercy, temples being fired, houses collapsing over their inmates' heads, and, after much misery, streams of water, not feeding the fields or assuaging thirst, pouring through the burning streets '. Thus too Don Juan of Austria, at his entry into

Brussels (May 1, 1571), sent banners in advance, depicting the Battle of Lepanto and other great scenes of his life. In antiquity the plastic arts were also used in triumphs ; figures of mountains, rivers, countries and cities personified after the ancient fashion. To this day on one relief of the Arch of Titus one can see the recumbent statue of the Jordan carried at the Judaean triumph ; so too colossal figures of the Rhine probably formed part of German triumphs. In Octavian's triumph after Actium a picture of Cleopatra with the asp in her arms formed part of the procession.

The artistic pyres, erected, after Asiatic models, at the consecration of deceased emperors on the Campus Martius, consisted of pyramids tapering upwards in storeys, and at the top the bier ; they were covered all over with gold-embroidered cloths, ivory reliefs and pictures, no doubt of scenes in the deified ruler's life. As soon as this mass of splendour was lit up in barbaric fashion and burst into flames, an eagle soared aloft from the gable of the tabernacle at the topmost story.

But the clearest evidence of the use of painting to visualize the events of the moment is afforded by the law-courts. Even in the later Republic accusations were supported, at any rate in the popular assemblies, by pictures of alleged or actual crimes. Aulus Gabinius the Tribune in 67 B.C. produced and descanted on a picture of the Tusculan villa of Lucullus, to convince the people of the consular's luxury. When Galba in 68 at Cartagena was inciting his troops to march against Rome, he exhibited in front of his tribunal as many portraits as possible of Nero's victims, as dumb witnesses to his tyranny. A defendant, who was depicted by his opponent on the *siparium* (screen over the judges' seats) in various attitudes, as a hopeless actor, stripped to his shirt, in prison for debt, or being ransomed by his friends, said to the judges : ' And yet I have won several times '. Quintilian had sometimes seen judges prejudiced against defendants by horrible pictures on wood or canvas. He disapproved the device, as the accuser vitiated his own case and made a dumb picture seem more eloquent than himself.

So too there were pictorial begging-letters. Shipwrecked men, genuine or impostors, used regularly to carry pictures of themselves swimming to land from a wreck on a deep blue sea ; such pictures were offered up as votive tablets in the temples,

especially in those of Isis, the patroness of shipping; 'every one knows', says Juvenal, 'that painters live on Isis'. We may mention, in passing, these countless ex-votos in pictures or reliefs, representing the danger escaped as accurately as might be; mostly, like the last-mentioned, executed by second-rate artists, but, no doubt, occasionally by skilful artists for richer men. Tacitus mentions that Domitian was in great peril when the Capitol was stormed in the night of December 18, 69, and erected on the site of a Temple servant's house, in which he had concealed himself, a chapel to Jupiter the Saviour, with an altar with his adventure engraved in marble.

This representation of personal events in pictures and sculpture must have been common. Pasitales portrayed in a silver relief how the nurse of the great actor Roscius once found her charge sleeping with a snake coiled round him. In Apuleius' romance, the bride who, by the aid of an ass, has escaped the robbers, wishes to set up a commemorative picture in her family *atrium*. In Trimalchio's house, walls in the colonnade are painted with scenes from the Iliad and the Odyssey, a gladiatorial show, and the master's career in a style partly allegorical, as a boy in the slave-market, as Mercury's darling with the *caduceus* in his hand, brought to Rome by Minerva, pictures in which he is being taught to reckon up, becomes a steward, etc., all with letterpress; in the last scene he is being lifted by Mercury on to a lofty tribune, with a Fortuna bearing the *cornu copiae* (horn of plenty) and the three *Parcae* twisting golden threads. This novel describes the social customs in certain circles, and such bad taste may have been instanced in life. Trimalchio orders his own tomb; it is to contain in minutest detail the history of his life; a feast he gave to the whole commune, with himself sitting on a raised tribune, in a toga with purple fringe, with five golden rings on his fingers, flinging gold coins amongst the rabble, and tables all around at which the good folk of the commune are gorging. An actual tomb with similar portrayals has been preserved, that of a *sevir* of the *Augustales* at Brescia, The lofty obelisk-like tombs near the Meuse and the Moselle (e.g., that of the Secundinii at Igel) have carvings of the family life of the deceased all round; the master returning home on horseback from the chase, the wife in the dressing-room, tended by her slaves; merchants in the office at the counter, in the warehouse

at the scales ; coopers in the cellar ; a sale of fruit ; landlords receiving from their farmers sheep, fish, game and eggs ; a boat loaded with casks, etc. ' In this beautiful country 1,500 years ago peaceful activity, pleasure and genial life flourished apace '.

But not only real events, even dreams of significance were eternized in art. Herodian had seen in the Roman forum a picture of one of the most important dreams, which promised the Empire to Severus, executed on a large scale in bronze. Severus had dreamed he saw Pertinax riding in the Via Sacra on a royally caparisoned horse ; but, as soon as he reached the entry of the *forum*, the horse threw Pertinax off and lifted up Severus, and stood with him on his back in the middle of the Forum. Cassius Dio saw at Mallos (in Cilicia) a picture of a dream-oracle, communicated by the hero Archilochus at Mallos to Sextus Quintilius Condianus ; a boy strangling two snakes, and a lion hunting a young stag. The reference to the downfall of the two brothers Quintilius was only recognized after the event in 183.' At Lebena in Crete an inscription records one Diodorus who consecrates to Asklepios two ' dream-pictures ' (i.e., pictorial representations) for the restoration of his eyes.

The most memorable events were to be recorded in sculpture and painting, not only on particular occasions, but for eternal reminiscence. Sculpture, painting and mosaic were employed on a large and small scale, after the third century chiefly the two last (as the technique of sculpture became less adaptable and large coloured pictures were best suited to create the illusion which the popular taste required), to immortalize the memory of the imperial battles and sieges, conclusions of peace, triumphs, speeches, acts of beneficence, sacrifices, hunts, games, gladiatorial fights and *venationes*. But the reliefs on Severus' triumphal arch even show a sad falling off ; one may surmise that the comprehensive representation of his deeds was executed in a mosaic or painting in a columned hall erected by his son. If after a hated tyrant's death his monument were thrown down, such pictures would not have been spared. Thus the Senate had a large picture in front of the Curia, on which Maximin had had painted his victory over the Germans, burnt after his fall ; but much would escape destruction, especially inside the imperial palaces.

As late as Diocletian, in a colonnade in the Gardens of Commodus a mosaic was to be seen, representing him and his friends (amongst them Pescennius Niger) sacrificing to Isis.

Portraits were made mainly for interiors and private purposes ; but honorary pictures (besides statues) were common in temples or public buildings, especially in the Greek cities. Nero had himself painted on linen as a figure 120 feet high (35½ metres). Herodian had seen a picture with a body that had two heads, of Alexander the Great and Caracalla. Elagabalus sent as a herald to Rome, a huge picture of his own painting, representing him in native costume sacrificing to his god, and directed it to be set up in the Curia above the statue of Victory. At Rome he painted himself as a dealer in delicacies and salves, a cook, a host, a pandar. A pentaptych in the Palace of the Quintilii represents the emperor Tacitus in five guises. The simplicity of Claudius Gothicus' dress was seen, as late as Julian, in his pictures. When Constantine had the statues of Maximian pulled down, his pictures vanished from the walls. Portraits of emperors were commonly seen in private houses. Tacitus (the Emperor) directed that every senator should possess a picture of Aurelian ; the full-length pictures of Alexander Severus in a white garb, which lasted as late as Constantine, must have been in part single portraits. A picture of Trajan fell down at the birth of Alexander Severus in a temple on to his mother's bed and foretold his accession. The likeness of Theodosius the Great to Trajan was confirmed by the pictures of the latter. The ' Royal custom ' of having portraits of princesses sent to select brides from (of which Honorius speaks in Claudian) may have originated in the East, and thence spread West. The Jewish princess Alexandra, on Dellius' advice, sent Mark Antony portraits of her two children, the sixteen year old Aristobulus, and Mariamne the wife of Herod, in order that their beauty might induce him to accede to her request (the bestowal of the priesthood on Aristobulus).

In private life portraits were largely painted of persons famous, loved and honoured. A portrait of Flora, a courtesan, famed for her relations with Pompey as a young man, was placed by Metellus Dalmaticus in the Temple of Castor in the Forum, which he restored and decorated with paintings and statues. Atticus' friends at Athens had likenesses of Epicurus in pictures, on goblets and stones in rings. Sopolis

and Dionysius were then the most sought-out portrait painters at Rome, and their pictures, even in Pliny's time, filled the galleries; but Iaia of Cyzicus was considered better for portraits of women. She also painted herself in the mirror. Pliny states that portrait painting gave way to bronze and silver medallions; he refers to the *atria* of the great; the medallions were too expensive to be in general use.

In the later Republic the love of portraits created collections of those sold by the booksellers. Atticus published a collection of portraits of famous Romans with short biographical notes. Varro wrote a long book with 700 portraits of Greeks and Romans (statesmen, generals, poets, authors, learned men, artists, etc.), and, as Pliny says, gave them an omnipresence by his large exports of them to all countries.

Authors' portraits usually accompanied their writings. Seneca speaks of copies of the likenesses, as well as of the works, of famous literary men. Martial's first collection of epigrams was decorated with his portrait, and a small parchment edition of Virgil in a similar manner; philosophical books were distinguished by scrubby heads of hair and beards. According to Galen, painters' eyes suffered from working on white parchment, probably an allusion to these and similar illustrations. Honein, a Nestorian Christian (born *c.* 809) states that all the Greek philosophical works translated by him into Syriac and Arabic contained a portrait of the philosopher at a high desk, with pupils standing in front of him. Libraries were adorned not merely with busts and *hermae*, but with painted portraits of authors. A friend of the Younger Pliny, residing in Upper Italy (in Insubrian territory), was commissioned by him to procure the portraits of Cornelius Nepos and Titus Catius (natives of the district) for another friend's library; Pliny requests that the work may be intrusted to a thoroughly competent artist.

In the larger towns at least only experienced artists received commissions. Martial had his portrait painted for Caecilius Secundus, commander of the forces on the Danube, and for the library of Stertinius Avitus. He also mentions portraits of the tragic poet Memor; of Caesonius Maximus; of Camonius Rufus, who died at the age of twenty; of Marcus Antonius Primus, crowned by him with violets and roses. All these appear to have been half-length. Although Statius did

not know the mother of Claudius Etruscus, he could see from her portrait that her beauty was not exaggerated. Statues of the deceased members of a family were as common as paintings; Pausanias 'never saw Antinous in life, but had seen statues and paintings of him', the latter, chiefly representing him as Dionysus, being especially numerous in his temple at Mantinea. Commodus had his favourite Marcia painted as an Amazon. Judging from her portraits, the mother of the sophist Alexander Peloplaton was extremely beautiful, worthy to be compared with the Helen of Eumelus. In the temple of Artemis at Perga there was a painting of the sophist Varus. Plotinus refused to sit for a painter or sculptor, but Carterius, the most famous painter of his time, attended his lectures and afterwards painted him from memory. The vogue of portrait-painting is shown by Lucian's ridicule of the folly of those (mostly women) who charged the artist 'to take a bit off the nose, or to make the eyes blacker'; and by Plutarch's remark, that painters sacrificed everything to the reproduction of the features as the index of character. A stock subject of the Greek rhetorical schools was the speech of a painter, enamoured of his own portrait of a girl.

The numerous portraits on wood found in the Fayum near Lake Moeris, inserted over the face of mummies, give an excellent idea of the art as practised by Egyptian Greeks. 'Belonging chiefly to the Roman period, these portraits (in encaustic, distemper, or combined) are lifelike and characteristic representations, equal to those of modern times'.

Likenesses set up in public places were of course nearly all plastic. Many such figures, and a far larger number of inscribed pedestals, have been preserved. These remains, supplemented by the statements of contemporaries, enable us to form a conception of the incredible number and variety of such monuments, and to explain their origin. Indeed, an approximate idea of the enormous artistic output of the first two centuries of our era will be best obtained by a consideration of the chief classes of these public or private effigies. In the case of portrait-painting, our information is too scanty.

First and foremost come the busts, medallions and statues of the emperors and of the members of the imperial families. A likeness of the ruling prince, as an object of general cult, was to be seen in every camp and city. The Senate decreed

that there should be a statue of Caesar 'in the cities and in all the temples of Rome'. Augustus limited the worship of his person to the provinces; Tiberius only permitted his statues to be used to decorate the temples, and forbade their being placed amongst the images of the gods. At the beginning of his reign, Caligula issued a similar prohibition, but soon cancelled it; as Josephus says, all the cities of the subject peoples set up his statue by the side of those of the other gods. After the middle of the third century (perhaps even at the beginning of the empire), it was the custom to send laurel-wreathed and (probably) painted likenesses of a new emperor into the provincial cities. Their arrival was announced by sound of trumpet, a long line of soldiers preceded the richly dressed bearer of the effigy, and the people went out to meet him with lights and censers. These imperial effigies, which afforded an asylum for the persecuted (especially slaves), were honoured like the images of the gods, with sacrifices and libations of wine and incense. In the time of Domitian the road that led to the Capitol was overcrowded with the herds of victims intended to honour the hideous effigies of the tyrant with as much blood as he himself had shed. Those who refused to 'adore' were punished for *lèse-majesté*; this was one of the chief causes of the persecutions of the Christians. The heathen worship of the imperial statues lasted far into Christian times, and Theodosius II (in 425) issued a special decree that 'an honour too great for man should be reserved for God'. Any profanation or insult was punished most severely of all, especially in the case of soldiers. As early as 15 A.D. Granius Marcellus, praetor of Bithynia, who had removed the head of Augustus from a statue and replaced it by one of Tiberius, was accused of *majestas* and barely escaped condemnation; soon afterwards, it was considered a capital offence to beat a slave, or change clothes near the statue of Augustus. The jurists of the third century expressly state that no one who melts down dilapidated statues of the emperors is guilty of *majestas*; nor one who repairs a statue, or accidentally hits it with a stone; Severus and Caracalla declared the sale of statues not yet consecrated not a punishable act. Of course, in the case of a consecrated statue, the act was all the more criminal.

The compulsory adoration of the statues of unpopular emperors was followed by their demolition in an outburst of

popular rage at the end of the reign. A striking instance occurred after the death of Domitian. His splendid and colossal monuments were especially numerous on the ascent from the Sacer Clivus to the Palatium, and his statues in silver and gold and of fixed weight, filled not only the Capitol, but (in the words of Dio) nearly the entire empire. At the news of his death, the Senate gave vent to its joy in loud abuse, and further resolved that ladders should be fetched at once, his medallions and statues thrown down, the inscriptions erased, and his memory blotted out. The Younger Pliny, writing four years later, calls the destruction of so many valuable statues an offering to the universal joy. Men delighted in dashing the proud face against the ground, and hacking it with iron and steel, as if their blows could wound and pain. It seemed an act of revenge to gloat over the mutilated trunk and limbs, the sinister and repellent face, as they melted in the flames. This or a similar passage is the origin of the story in Procopius, that Domitian was hewn in pieces, which were collected and put together by his wife as a model for a bronze statue. It was set up on the right of the ascent to the Capitol from the Forum, and, according to Procopius, was the only existing statue of Domitian and bore a striking resemblance to Justinian. The statues of Commodus, Maximin (whose features were painted black) and others were similarly treated ; revolts, civil wars, and palace revolutions made such occurrences common to the last days of antiquity. In such cases, as a rule statues were altered instead of being destroyed ; according to Jerome, when a tyrant is put to death, his statues and images are thrown down, his head is removed and replaced by that of his victorious rival, to be again removed in turn, while the body remains untouched.

During the first two centuries, however, Domitian seems to have been the only Emperor whose images, except in very few instances, were utterly destroyed. Those of Commodus must have been in part restored. On January 1, 193, the senate with loud acclamations decreed the demolition of the statues ' of the enemy of his country, the murderer, the gladiator ', and the erection of a statue of the goddess of Liberty opposite the Curia in place of one representing Commodus as Hercules with bent bow. In 197, the same senate was compelled by Severus to recognize the divinity of Commodus. Na-

turally, consecration gave the statues a longer lease of life, and even led to the erection of new ones. The senate decreed the apotheosis of Caracalla by command of his murderer Macrinus, who ordered the erection of two statues of Severus in triumphal dress, and six of Caracalla (two equestrian, two in military, and two in civilian attire). During the first two centuries Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian were all refused consecration; Nero's veto of the apotheosis of Claudius was removed by Vespasian. But the relatively numerous memorials of them still in existence show clearly that consecration was by no means an indispensable condition of their preservation, although no doubt it most effectually secured it. One of the chief members of the diet of Tarraco, capital of Hither Spain and the centre of the imperial cult, was chosen expressly 'to keep the statues of the deified Hadrian in repair'. A number of statues of the early emperors on certain properties acquired by the younger Pliny were carefully preserved by him. During Nerva's reign he had intended to build a temple for them at Como, but the plan was not carried out; in 101 he again received permission from Trajan to remove them to Como, and to add that prince's statue to the number. The ever increasing list of deified emperors and empresses (to the consecration of Caracalla twenty emperors and six empresses, to the time of Constantine or Julian perhaps thirty-six or thirty-seven divine personages), revised for monumental or religious purposes, tended also to increase the number of such memorials. Thus, at Rome, Domitian built a colonnade, the Emperor Tacitus a temple, of the deified emperors, and Alexander Severus placed their colossal statues in the Forum of Nerva. Sometimes a general feeling of reverence, unconnected with the official cult, led to the preservation and renewal of imperial images. With pious devotion the Roman world offered prayers to the glorified image of Marcus Aurelius, and for more than a century after his death his statue was to be seen amongst the household gods. At the beginning of a new reign, the imperial images were set up without delay in every city and camp; this created a demand throughout Italy and the provinces for sculptors and painters, who perhaps formed part of the regular suite of governors, generals, and highly placed officials. Galba did not start from Spain till he heard of Nero's death (January 8, 68), yet

at the time of his murder (January 15, 69) his images were to be seen 'in all the municipal towns'; Vitellius did not arrive in Upper Italy till the end of May (69), but before the battle of Cremona (end of the year) we read of his images being thrown down in the naval camp at Ravenna. Even on his march from Cologne by way of Lyons to Italy, before he reached Vienne, equestrian statues were erected in his honour in several places, the collapse of which was regarded as an evil portent. The erection of a statue to the younger Faustina at Olympia cannot have been decided upon until her father had been adopted by Hadrian as his co-regent and successor (i.e. after February 25, 138); the inscription on the pedestal (still extant) must have been added before the news of the death of Hadrian at Baiae (July 10, in the same year) reached Greece. The two Gordians reigned at most thirty-six days; immediately after the proclamation of the elder the cities of Africa were full of his statues and images. Pupienus and Balbinus reigned three months (April to July, 238). When Maximin was murdered before Aquileia at the beginning of May, his images and statues were thrown down, and his soldiers compelled to worship those of the 'senatorial emperors'; in a letter to Pupienus and Balbinus the consul Claudius Julianus congratulates the legions and auxiliaries, 'who adore your images throughout the empire'. Artists in the camps, whose business it was to renovate the medallions of emperors and others, often used to decorate the colours, and could be employed for other purposes; thus, numerous statues of Alexander the Great were set up by order of Caracalla.

Statues and images of the ruling prince were found throughout the empire, and were especially numerous in all the more important places. As a rule, they served for the adornment of public places and buildings (governmental, administrative, and legal). In his *Apologia* delivered before the proconsul Claudius Maximus at Sabrata (Tripoli), Apuleius expresses his disgust that, 'in the presence of the statues of the emperor Pius', a son should charge his mother with disgraceful conduct. They may have been set up by governors and government officials in such places; but rural and provincial corporations and all flourishing communities were also obliged to render homage in this manner, sometimes at enormous expense. Thus, in the first year of Caligula's reign, a special

embassy was sent to announce the honours decreed him by the provincial diet of Achaea (the pan-hellenic synod). Among other things, it had been decided to erect a large number of statues, but Caligula would only allow four to be set up where the sacred games took place (Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, the isthmus of Corinth). Statues were doubtless most numerous and most esteemed in those provincial capitals, where the temple was the centre of the imperial cult, in which all the communities took part. In Egypt, to defray the cost of erecting imperial statues in all the temples, a kind of poll-tax, called a 'statue tax', was imposed upon the people.

Private individuals also were obliged to show their loyalty in this way, especially at Rome. During the age of the Antonines, the imperial images were to be seen everywhere, 'in the money-changers' offices, in the shops and workshops, under the eaves, in the vestibules, and at the windows'. Certainly, as a rule they were badly painted, or coarsely modelled; but those in wealthy and distinguished houses were no doubt of superior workmanship. Further, in the larger cities, it was by no means uncommon for private individuals to set up statues of the emperors in public.

Perhaps Hadrian was the emperor in whose honour most monuments were erected in the provinces, especially in Greece, the special recipient of his favours. His statues were set up by communities, cantons, and corporations in various places—Delphi, Olympia, Thebes, Syros, Coronea, and Samothrace—but especially in Athens. Each of the thirteen cuneiform sections of the theatre of Dionysus contained a statue of Hadrian, all, with the exception of one (the large one of the emperor as archon), erected by the twelve *phylae* (tribes) of Attica after the celebration of the Dionysia in the spring of 126. Pausanias mentions two more, in the Ceramicus and in the Parthenon. But the temple of Olympian Zeus, completed and dedicated by Hadrian in 129, and its immediate neighbourhood contained the greatest number. Before the façades there were probably four statues of the imperial architect, two in Thasian and two in Egyptian marble; in front of the columns of the colonnades that ran round the building were statues from beyond the seas, in bronze, others from Greek towns, and others given by private individuals. Numerous pedestals and inscriptions still survive. All, however, were surpassed

by ' a colossal statue well worth seeing ', set up by the Athenians behind the temple. If it is true that the Athenians erected 360 statues of Demetrius of Phalerum, those of Hadrian at Athens which are known to us must have formed only a small proportion of the whole. He had far greater claim on their gratitude, and the expense was far less than 450 years earlier.

But, in spite of the rivalry between provinces and towns, eager to testify their loyalty and attachment, the number and magnificence of the imperial statues must have been greatest in Rome itself. Augustus, in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, states that about eighty silver statues (full length, in a chariot, and equestrian) had been erected to him in Rome by states and individuals, all of which he had melted down, to defray the expenses of the golden offerings, chiefly tripods, deposited in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine in his own name and in that of the founders. Although it may seem incredible to us, his full-length bronze and marble statues must have been reckoned during his lifetime by hundreds at Rome, by myriads throughout the Empire. During the growth of the monarchy, the spirit of servility, purposely kept in check by Augustus, had not reached its height; yet none of his successors obtained such homage as he, the saviour of the world and founder of the new *régime*. Certainly the length of his reign (44 years) may account for the number of his monuments being greater than those of any other emperor.

Compared with the Roman empire, the territory governed by the first Napoleon and his dependent princes was insignificant ; his person was never the object of a religious cult, and the consequently limited demand for representations of it was fully met by drawings and reproductions ; nevertheless, in the three years from 1809 to 1812, about 1,500 busts of him after Chaudet were turned out from Carrara.

In the first centuries of our era, imperial likenesses were only exceptionally old ones altered or renamed ; since (as Dio of Prusa says) those who were to be honoured would have considered it an insult rather than an act of homage. Instances, however, were known in Greece during Republican times. Cicero (in 50 B.C.) speaks of forged inscriptions on foreign statues ; two colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens were renamed as those of Mark Antony. A statue seen by Pausanias before the temple of Hera at Mycenae and

according to the inscription intended for Augustus, was identified locally as Orestes. But this is the only other known instance of renaming a foreign statue after one of the earlier emperors. Certainly, after 15 A.D. few artists, for the sake of gain or economy, would have ventured on anything of the kind even secretly, since discovery would have laid them open to the charge of *majestas*. The Rhodians, who were very lavish in bestowing statues (as a rule simply altered or renamed), were reproached by Dio in a lengthy oration for their unworthy conduct, which was the more inexcusable, as they continually set up new statues, especially of emperors and highly placed officials. His remark that there would be no reason to reproach them, if they treated all alike 'with the exception of the emperors', shows that he considered such transformations to be entirely inadmissible in their case. Philo says that the Alexandrians desecrated all the synagogues which they could not destroy, by placing in them images of Caligula. In the largest they set up a bronze statue in a rusty, damaged four-horsed chariot from the gymnasium, formerly dedicated to some Cleopatra. 'It is evident that this substitution exposed its authors to the risk of a serious accusation, even if it had been a new chariot dedicated to a woman, or an old one dedicated to a man, since it was originally intended for some one else than the emperor. Ought not those who erected such a monument in his honour to have done all they could to prevent his hearing of it, seeing that he attached such importance to everything that concerned his person?' But the alteration of heads and inscriptions does not seem to have been common in the early empire even in the case of other monuments; it was most frequent in the Greek towns, where there was a large stock of old statues. Not merely are the known instances isolated cases, but Dio (in the oration already referred to), while rebuking the Rhodians for the bad habit which had 'for some time' been gaining ground amongst them, declares that other cities, less wealthy or even poor, such as Athens, Sparta, Byzantium, and Mytilene, were completely free from it. This would seem to show that Rhodes was the only place in Greece where such practices were common; Rhodian statues, like actors, were said to be continually changing their rôle.

The same applies in great measure to the images of the em-

presses and the heirs to the throne, and even to other members of the imperial household. During the sojourn of Tiberius at Rhodes in disgrace, after his quarrel with Gaius Caesar, the inhabitants of Nîmes threw down his statues and images, from which we may conclude that there were statues of him in all the larger towns, especially those which (like Nîmes) were connected with the imperial house. At the news of the death of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Pisa (whose patron Lucius was) ordered the erection of an arch decorated with the spoils of the peoples he had conquered, with a statue of himself in triumphal robes, and on either side gilded equestrian statues of both. After the death of Aelius Verus, his destined successor, Hadrian ordered temples to be built in his honour in certain cities, and 'colossal statues' to be erected throughout the empire. It is well known that Antinous was represented in painting and sculpture in nearly all the provinces.

The highest functionaries were honoured in the same way, especially the declared favourites of the emperor. When Sejanus was at the height of his power, senators, knights, tribes, and the greatest men of Rome erected so many statues in his honour, that (as Cassius Dio says) no one could tell their number, especially after Tiberius, in accordance with a resolution of the senate, had ordered a full-length bronze statue of him for the theatre of Pompey. As a rule, the images and statues of the emperor and his *alter ego* were placed side by side, even in the camps (except in that of the army of Syria); and Tiberius allowed the images of his favourite to be worshipped in the generals' quarters, the *fora*, and the theatres. His sudden downfall in the year 31 was the signal for the destruction of all these monuments. His statues (says Juvenal) were torn down from their pedestals by means of ropes, and dragged in the mire. The wheels of the two-horsed chariots and the legs of the innocent horses were shattered by the axe; soon, the head but lately worshipped by the people melted and crackled in the flames; the colossal statue was consumed; the face, once the second in the empire, was made into pots, pans, basins, and chamber-pots. Plautianus, the favourite of Severus, experienced the same fate. According to Dio, his statues, set up by the senate as well as by private individuals, were larger and more numerous than those of the emperors, even in Rome. This aroused Severus' suspicion;

after Plautianus' fall, 'his statues were thrown down throughout the Empire'.

If only a few were honoured by statues throughout the empire, they were bestowed upon an incredibly large number in definite districts or single towns. It was the usual way for provincials to show respect for those who possessed or might possess the power to benefit or injure them, especially the governors, to whom, even in the last days of the republic, it was the custom to build temples. Cicero, when proconsul of Cilicia, refused 'statues, temples, four-horsed chariots (τέθριππα)'; on the other hand, Verres compelled the Sicilian communities to erect a large number of statues to himself, his father, and his son (then a mere boy); there were so many of them in Syracuse, that he seemed to have set up as many as he took away. Gilded equestrian statues of him, the expenses of which were defrayed by Roman merchants, the cultivators of public lands, and the Sicilian community, were also to be seen in Rome. The terrible rule of the provincial satraps was no doubt greatly restricted, but never entirely abolished by the monarchy; the inhabitants were still compelled, directly or indirectly, to honour their tyrants and spoilers by memorials, the refusal of which was a tacit accusation. According to Dio, the Rhodians excused the practice referred to above by the plea that they were obliged to honour so many officials, not only on their merits, but because of their power. They feared them all, and believed their liberty in danger, if they neglected to erect a bronze statue to each. 'If you really have to fawn upon each new arrival like dogs, or to risk incurring wrath and hatred, then', says Dio, 'you are in evil plight'.

Distinguished Romans who held no official position, and even ladies, were honoured by statues, especially in Greece; as is shown by numerous inscriptions of the early empire on pedestals in Athens. The more indispensable was it for cities and provinces to show their gratitude for actual benefits received, above all, for protection and patronage (the *patronatus*). In Sicily, equestrian statues of the Marcelli, as patrons of the island, were seen in all the *fora*. The hero of the Apuleian romance, who belonged to a distinguished Thessalian family, was held up to public ridicule in Hypata; the magistrates apologized, and announced that the city had chosen him for its *patronus* and had resolved to set up his image in bronze.

Subordinate official and semi-official positions entitled their holders to this honour. Flavius Sabinus, the father of Vespasian, who had been one of the farmers of the *quadragesima* (tax of 2½ per cent. on imported goods) in Asia, was honoured by statues and laudatory inscriptions. Titus, when military tribune in Germany and Britain, had gained a reputation for energy and moderation, 'as is shown by the number of statues and images with inscriptions in both provinces'. Lucius Licinius Secundus, the attendant (*accensus*) of the powerful Lucius Licinius Sura in his three consulships (98, 102, 107), had at least thirteen statues in Barcelona, three of which were erected by Spanish town councils. When monumental honours were so lavishly bestowed, real distinction entailed enormous expense; Apuleius says, in praise of the consular Aemilianus Strabo (consul 156), that all the provinces congratulated themselves on setting up in his honour four and six-in-hands, surmounted by his statue.

Real or imaginary services of individuals to the community were generally rewarded in the same manner throughout the empire. The use of portrait statues, at first rare, was subsequently adopted, says Pliny, by the whole world under the influence of a philanthropic ambition; the *fora* of all the *municipia* were adorned with statues; thus the memory of men of merit was handed down to posterity and their honours recorded for all time on pedestals, not merely on their tombs. Thousands of pedestals with Greek and Roman inscriptions bear witness to this. There were more portrait statues of deserving citizens, patrons and protectors of the city in Pompeii than in any modern capital. In addition to five colossal statues of emperors and members of the imperial house, 70–80 places were reserved in the Forum for life-size equestrian statues, and behind each a place for a full-length statue. The entrance-hall of the *macellum* (provision market) contained twenty-five statues, the open space of the temple of the Lares eight, the entrance-hall of the building of Eumachia twenty-one. The average number of statues in second-rate towns was just as large. In a double portico (beginning of the second century) at Termessus in Pisidia forty-six bases of statues of men and women have been found, which stood in front of or between the columns (twenty-six of victors in athletic contests, fifteen of officials, priests and priestesses). It was no

uncommon thing for traffic to be hindered by the number of statues in the *fora*, as at Cirta (where one was stolen). Ambition and municipal patriotism, as already observed, combined with due regard to public opinion to stimulate wealthy and distinguished persons to render services to their communities. The latter, on their part, were proud to point to the numerous monuments as evidence that it was esteemed an honour to make sacrifices for them, and that they were in a position to reward their benefactors and decorate their city at the same time. It was almost impossible for a wealthy and distinguished family to live in an important town for any length of time without earning the honour of a statue. Dio boasts that his ancestors, his father (for a long time president of his native city), his brothers and other relatives had been honoured with many statues, public funerals, athletic games held near their graves, and other distinctions ; his mother had not only a full-length statue, but also a temple.

As a rule, investiture with certain high offices only accessible to the provincial aristocracy (such as the chief priesthood), carried with it the honour of a statue. By a law which has recently become known, when the priests at Narbo retired from office, it was proposed by their successor (and probably resolved by the provincial diet) that they should be allowed to set up statues themselves. Numerous pedestals of such statues have been found at Tarraco and Lugdunum, all (at Lugdunum) or for the most part (fifty-two out of about seventy at Tarraco) set up, not by the priests themselves, but by the province, more rarely by native communities or relatives on the resolution of the diet. In Spain the honour was extended to the priestesses who shared their husband's dignity.

A statement of the services most frequently rewarded in this manner in Italy and the provinces will give an idea of the extent of the practice. They consisted chiefly in expenditure of money and personal exertions for the benefit of the city—the erection of useful and ornamental buildings ; donations for various purposes (the purchase of corn in time of dearth) ; but above all banquets (on single occasions or yearly) to the citizens, accompanied by a distribution of money ; spectacles of all kinds (especially wild beast and gladiatorial combats) ; lastly, voluntary missions to emperors and governors, at the expense of the envoys. Distinguished teachers also had a

right to the honour—world-famous professors of eloquence, who attracted crowds of pupils from distant lands, and even modest school-teachers (at least after death) if they had obtained a reputation for learning. On the capitol at Beneventum there was a seated statue of Orbilius Pupillus (the teacher of Horace, who died in a garret at the age of a hundred), in a Greek cloak with two book-cases by his side ; at Praeneste, one of Marcus Verrius Flaccus, surmounting his calendar graven on marble tablets in the Forum. Native and foreign literary works, at least in Greece, were similarly rewarded, sometimes too generously. According to Dio of Prusa, the Athenians erected the statue of an absolutely insignificant poet (perhaps the improviser Quintus Pompeius Capito) by the side of that of Menander. At Halicarnassus the tragic poet Gaius Julius Longianus of Aphrodisias (lived under Hadrian), who ' had delighted the older and benefited the younger citizens ' by his poetical recitals, was honoured by several bronze busts, set up in the most frequented places—the sanctuary of the Muses and the gymnasium of the Ephebi—' by the side of old Herodotus ' ; his writings were accorded a place in the public libraries ; and the company of Dionysiac artists had his portrait painted full length, to be set up wherever he pleased in his native place. The poet Maximus of Apamea had a statue in Cyzicus, where he had twice gained the prize in a poetical contest. Naturally, native celebrities, especially artists of all kinds, had precedence over foreign. Thus, at Ostia, an athlete or musician, who had gained prizes in all parts of the world, ' for his distinguished skill and devotion to his native town ' ; at Praeneste, Marcus Aurelius Agilius Septentrio, the first pantomime of his age, ' for his remarkable devotion to his fellow-citizens and native town '. The same honour was also frequently bestowed on women. Further, statues were erected to the dead, even to little children, to console and honour their relatives, especially parents. At Brixia (Brescia) the town council decreed a gilded statue to a boy, who died at the age of six years, two months and five days, to console his father. Monuments of this kind were so common in Cicero's time that he looked upon them as a sign of the extravagance of the age. A still higher distinction was a statue on a two-horsed chariot (*biga*). The citizens of Praeneste asked that a ' patron ' of the town, a member of the

equestrian order, who had provided gladiatorial shows lasting two days, might be so honoured ; but the town council would only grant an equestrian statue. The inhabitants of Panhormus (Palermo) urgently demanded a considerable number of statues on *bigae* for an imperial *curator* of the *kalendaria* (books containing the names of persons to whom public money had been lent on interest), but he was satisfied with two and (probably) three equestrian statues.

To enhance the honour, several statues were erected to the same person, e.g., by the Athenians to their wealthy fellow-citizen and epic poet Julius Nicanor (lived under Augustus), who had redeemed the island of Salamis, which they had been obliged to mortgage or sell. Inscriptions describe him as a 'second Homer' and a 'second Themistocles'. In the time of the Antonines one Publius Lucilius Gamala was honoured by two bronze statues (one gilded) for his numerous gifts to Ostia. Artemidorus, the son of Augustus' friend Theopompus, received in his native city (Cnidus) 'three marble, three golden, and three bronze busts', in addition to a golden bust in the temple of Artemis. At Aphrodisias it was decided to set up for some one unknown 'gilded portrait medallions and bronze and marble statues in the temples and such public places as he himself might seleçt'. The town council of Calama in Numidia decreed five statues to a priestess, who had been exceedingly generous to the town. Similarly, the community of Cirta offered a number of statues of Sosia Falconilla after her death to her father Quintus Pompeius Sosius Priscus, who only accepted one. The number five in the two last instances is to be explained by the fact that two of the ten *curiae*, into which the citizens in African towns were divided, combined to defray the cost of a statue. At Hippo Regius in Numidia, however, each *curia* erected a statue at its own expense in the villa of a *flamen* of Augustus and chief magistrate, in return for a magnificent gladiatorial show and other services ; and similar instances occur in other African towns. In other provinces, each district (*vicus*) did the same, e.g., at Alexandria Troas, where there were ten of them ; as early as the time of Sulla, all the districts set up statues to the popular Marius Gratidianus, which were pulled down by order of Sulla after his terrible murder. According to an inscription of about the time of Claudius found in Aventicum (Avenches), the community of the Helvetii ordered

statues of a certain Gaius Valerius Camillus to be set up, for itself and for the individual cantons. In a similar manner all the twelve *phylae* of Attica showed their gratitude to Tiberius Claudius Atticus for a general entertainment, an honour hitherto only bestowed on the Emperor Hadrian.

Very frequently, if not as a rule, the recipients of the honour paid for the cost of the statue. The frequent occurrence in inscriptions of the formula, 'content with the honour, he has defrayed the cost', makes it certain that a promise to that effect was required in very many cases before the statues were decreed. Quite exceptionally, the recipient allowed the necessary sum to be collected, which he subsequently reimbursed. At Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone) the town council on one occasion secretly voted and presented a finished statue, that it might not be refused a second time out of modesty. In Greece, relatives often defrayed the expense.

In the second century, the foreigners most frequently distinguished were poets and wandering professors of eloquence (sophists). Thus, there were statues of Aristides in several places, one at Smyrna set up by Alexandria, Hermopolis magna, Antinoe, and the Greeks of the Delta. A statue of the author of a speech attributed to Dio of Prusa in the public library at Corinth soon afterwards disappeared. Apuleius, in thanking the town council of Carthage for a statue voted by that body, mentions that he had already received the honour in other places; and that even in second-rate towns the money for the bronze and the services of the artist had always been forthcoming. When the philosopher Demonax visited Olympia, the Eleans voted him a bronze statue; but he refused it, since it would have been a censure on their ancestors, who had not done so in the case of Socrates and Antisthenes. The emperor Aurelian saw many images of Apollonius of Tyana in the temples. The philosopher Flavius Archippus, convicted of forgery in Bithynia under Domitian, had often been honoured by a statue—a distinction frequently bestowed upon philosophers as late as the time of Severus. Heraclitus of Rhodicpolis in Lycia, a physician and medical writer of the first century A.D., was honoured with a gilded bust and 'the statue for scientific culture' (such as was usually erected to authors and learned men) by his native place, and also by the communities of Alexandria, Rhodes and Athens, by the Areopagus, the

Epicurean philosophers, and the 'sacred' association of theatrical artists.

In the *municipia* this honour was usually decreed in the name of the town by the whole body of citizens or by the town council; in Rome, up to the time of Diocletian, by the Senate. After the death of Lucilius Longus, one of the oldest and most intimate friends of Tiberius, in 23, the Senate decreed him a statue at the public expense in the Forum of Augustus; 'for at that time', says Tacitus, 'everything was still managed by the Senate'. Caligula's edict, that no image or statue of a living person should be set up without his express permission, abolished the privilege of the Senate; Claudius, however, reaffirmed it, since (in 45) he even made the erection of statues by private individuals dependent upon that body; permission was only given to those who had erected a public building at their own expense, or to their kinsmen. Hitherto every one had been allowed to set up his image publicly, painted or in stone and brass. The result was that Rome was overcrowded with personal memorials, which Claudius remedied by redistribution. Yet the erection of statues in temples (e.g., of Antonius Musa, Augustus' physician, by voluntary contributions, in the temple of Aesculapius) was probably permitted to private persons as before.

As the Senate always voted this honour by agreement with, if not by direct command of, the emperors, the erection of statues was also ascribed to the latter. Cassius Dio says of Tiberius, that he honoured many after their death with statues. As a rule, the living, with the exception of the members of the imperial house, were not so honoured; in the case of the dead, both senate and emperors were lavish. Under Nerva, Vestricius Cottius, who died very young; under Marcus Aurelius, the most distinguished victims of the plague and the nobles who had fallen in the Marcomannic war, all received statues (the latter in the Forum of Trajan). On the accession of a new emperor his deceased relatives generally received statues. Under Caligula, Claudius narrowly escaped being deprived of the consulship (in 37), because he had been remiss in setting up the statues of the emperor's deceased brothers, Nero and Drusus (died 30). In 54 Nero solicited from the Senate a statue for his father, Gnaeus Domitius. Antoninus Pius 'accepted from the Senate the statues of

his father, mother, grandparents, and brothers, who were then all dead'. Marcus Aurelius even honoured his parents' friends after their death in this manner, and Severus his deceased relatives, his parents, his grandfather, and his first wife.

The honour was sometimes, however, bestowed upon the living, as by Trajan upon his valued friends Sosius Senecio, Cornelius Palma, and Publius Celsus. Marcus Aurelius demanded a statue for Junius Rusticus, his teacher in philosophy, after his death, and for Fronto, his instructor in eloquence, during his lifetime. On his and his co-regent Commodus' proposal the Senate voted three statues to Marcus Bassaeus Rufus, praefect of the praetorian guard: a gilded one in the Forum of Trajan, another in civilian dress in the temple of Pius, a third in a coat of mail in that of Mars Ultor. Statues were also military rewards. Thus, Ammianus Marcellinus saw the statues of the leaders of a daring sally from the town of Amida in Armenia (Diarbekir), which had been set up by order of Constantius in a busy part of Edessa.

At Rome, especially, the *fora* and their colonnades, the chief temples and their forecourts were full of statues, the old Forum and the forecourt of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol even in republican times. Owing to want of room, a number of them were removed by Augustus to the Campus Martius. Up to the time of Trajan the triumphal statues decreed by the Senate were set up on the Forum of Augustus; afterwards, on Trajan's own Forum, which from the time of the Antonines became 'the centre of splendour and distinction', as is shown by numerous pedestals (extending to the sixth century) which have been found there. The rare honour of a statue on the Palatine was voted by the Senate to Lucius Otho (father of the Emperor Otho) for the discovery of a plot to murder Claudius. There, also, 'above the triumphal statues of the Forum', Nero in 65 had the statues of Nerva (afterwards emperor) and Tigellinus set up. By a resolution of the Senate Sejanus received a statue in the theatre of Pompey, for having checked the spread of a fire that broke out in it in the year 22. Passienus Crispus, distinguished as an advocate in centumviral processes, had a statue in the Basilica Julia.

The life-size statues of the chief Vestals stood in the peristyle of the house of the Vestals round the columned hall;

sixteen of them are preserved entire or in fragments, besides thirty pedestals with inscriptions, twenty-seven belonging to the period from the third to the eightieth year of the fourth century. These solemn and touching memorials were erected by priestly colleges and individual priests, by near relatives (brothers and sisters and their families), by subordinates, freedmen, and others who owed a debt of gratitude to the chief vestals. Old statues must from time to time have been removed to make room for new, especially as several were set up to the same person (e.g., seven to Flavia Publicia about 250 A.D.).

Although not so often mentioned, we cannot be sure that memorials of private persons, erected by colleges (guilds, religious and other associations) to their male and female patrons, and by soldiers to their commanders, were less numerous than public ones. At Palmyra in the second and third century it was customary for merchants travelling by caravan to set up a statue to the leader of the caravan (συνοδιάρχης), if he performed his duty satisfactorily. About 150 A.D., the large number of memorials of stage artists, musicians, athletes, and chariot drivers in circus costume, set up by their admirers and the different 'factions', and of pantomimes amongst the images of the gods astonished the stranger. Nero compelled the aged tragedian, Pammenes, to compete with him, so that he might insult his statue after he had gained the victory. Famous athletes were honoured with bronze statues in many places, chiefly presented by their associations; in Greece they often formed part of the prize; the victor at the Spartan Leonidea received 100 *drachmae* for a bust.

In private life a statue or bust was a favourite way of showing friendship, respect, or gratitude. Pupils thus honoured their teachers, patients their physicians, accused persons (on acquittal) their advocates, clients and freedmen their patrons (in their *atria*, according to the Elder Pliny), hosts their distinguished guests. The chief Vestal Campia Severina (third century) received a statue from a man who was indebted to her for admission to the equestrian order and military promotion; and from another, who had been appointed chief administrator of the funds of the imperial libraries on her recommendation. The friends of Decimus Junius Melinus, the first *eques* from Cartima in Baetica, ordered his statue to

be set up there during his lifetime ; he died before its completion, and his mother carried out the work at her own expense. Of the thirteen statues of Lucius Licinius Secundus (see p. 288) at Barcelona one was set up by the *seviri* of the *augustales*, of whom he was one ; another by a college ; two by individual *seviri* ; four by friends ; one by a freedman. Even high officials thus showed their respect to their inferiors. Apuleius is profuse in his gratitude to the consular Aemilianus Strabo, who had written to the common council at Carthage that he intended to erect a statue to Apuleius in that city.

Lastly, it was usual at all times for private persons to erect their own statues during their lifetime, at Rome (before the year 45) even in public places. After that date permission had to be given by the senate, and in other places by the common council, who also assigned the site. In a town in the south of Spain the common council, in addition to a public banquet (*cenae publicae*) gave a lifelong *Augustalis* a site for the statues of himself, his wife and children. Of course, any one could set up whatever memorials he pleased on his own property. In his garden on the further side of the Tiber Regulus had covered a large extent of ground with immense colonnades and the bank of the river with his statues ; according to his bitter enemy Pliny the Younger, he was at once avaricious and extravagant, a blackguard and a braggart. When his son died quite young in 104, he had a large number of statues and likenesses of him executed in all the workshops, in colours, encaustic, bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and marble. Claudius Etruscus (in Statius) declares his intention of immortalizing the features of his father, who died full of years, in 'bright stone', ivory, and gold, and on tablets with coloured wax.

The public and private memorials of the dead, painted or carved, far outnumbered those of the living. Herodes Atticus honoured his deceased wife Annia Regilla with numerous monuments, and his foster-sons Achilles and Polydeuces (died after 130) with marble statues 'in fields and thickets, by the side of springs and under shady plane trees', representing them hunting, making ready for or resting from the chase. Inscriptions (some of which are preserved) pronounced a curse on whosoever should mutilate or remove them. Monuments to the dead, some of them combined with burial at the public

expense, often adorned their graves. Wills often contained directions as to such monuments ; thus, a *duumvir* of Brixia ordered seven statues with pedestals to be set up to himself, his son, and five other persons. One of the inhabitants of a North African town bequeathed a sum of money to the community ; the interest was to be distributed every year on his birthday and every seventh year devoted to defraying the cost (32,000 sesterces, £348) of the erection of his statue. In a city of Southern Spain, a woman left instructions that a statue should be erected to her at a cost of 8,000 sesterces (£87) ; it was to be adorned with various trinkets ; the exact number of the (golden) links and pearls for each row was given ; her son spent 7,000 sesterces on silver bracelets set with precious stones and a jasper ring. A wealthy man in the Langres district ordered a two-storeyed mausoleum to be erected, the upper storey forming an *exedra* to contain two statues of the deceased, one (sitting) ' of the best marble from over sea (Greek)', the other of the best bronze of the second class (*aes tabulare*, used for public notices), at least five feet high. In front of the structure an altar, ' carved in the best style from the best Carrara marble ', was to contain the remains of the testator. Trimalchio in Petronius orders a statue with a little dog, with wreaths and unguents on the ground ; on his right a statue of his wife, a dove in her hand, and a little dog on a lead. Domitian's secretary, the freedman Abascantus, built a palatial tomb for his wife Priscilla, in which she was represented in the likeness of different goddesses, as Ceres and Ariadne in bronze, as Maia and Venus Casta in marble. Representations according to life were, however, the rule. Many of the extant portrait statues and busts belong to sepulchral monuments. The wanderer approaching a large city was greeted on either side of the highway by long rows of bronze and marble effigies of men and women of earlier generations.

Admirers frequently erected monuments to distinguished men of earlier times. Thus Caracalla set up ' in every city ' images and statues of Alexander the Great, alone or in company with his own (especially on the Capitol in Rome and in temples elsewhere), of Sulla, and of Hannibal.

Painting and the plastic art were employed till the last days of antiquity in the production of personal memorials. At the end of the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus

mentions the desire of immortalizing themselves by ostentatious effigies (especially bronze statues) as characteristic of the Roman nobles. The rhetor Marius Victorinus, Claudian, and Apollinaris Sidonius were all honoured with statues in the Forum of Trajan ; and Ausonius says that, if he were to have the emperor's letter, containing his nomination to the consulship, posted up everywhere, he would be honoured by as many statues as there were pages in it. Standing images were erected at Rome as late as the reign of Zeno (some of Theodoric, which Rusticiana ordered to be pulled down). The most prominent of the numerous statues of Justinian at Constantinople was the colossal equestrian statue of bronze in the Augusteum, holding a sphere and cross in the left hand, the right being extended towards the East with a gesture of command.

(*c*) *Religious Art*

A third and enormously productive branch of art, which satisfied a widespread need of the entire Roman world, was the religious. For purposes of worship practically plastic art alone was requisitioned ; painting and mosaic were employed merely in the decoration of the holy places. The nature, strength, and universality of belief in the gods inseparably connected with the worship of images, will be discussed later. None of the more important figures of the Greco-Roman religious system had lost their sanctity, and, on the other hand, the cult of numerous foreign (especially oriental) gods had spread over the empire, thus increasing the number of divine personages. Various influences, however, increased or diminished the reputation and spread of the cult of individual divinities. The marked preference of certain emperors for certain cults, as that of Augustus for Apollo, of Domitian for Minerva, of Commodus for Isis and Hercules, of Severus for Hercules and Bacchus, was bound to have its effect ; the worship of the god distinguished by the emperor became the fashion, and his images multiplied in proportion. It is quite impossible to form an idea of the enormous number of the images of the gods which must have accumulated in the temples in the larger towns. The legend that there were a hundred idols on the Capitol at Trèves is by no means astonishing or incredible.

Donations and foundations for religious purposes, but

especially gifts of images, were the favourite methods of worshipping the gods and soliciting their favour. These images were set up not only in temples, but as ornaments in public places and buildings. According to the Elder Pliny, the inhabitants of Clermont, the capital of the Arverni, erected a colossal Mercury, which took ten years to make, and for which the artist alone received 400,000 sesterces (£4,350). The accidental mention of this fact enables us to form an idea of the money spent even in the provinces on the images of the gods. Made of all sizes and materials and of varying excellence, they employed thousands of workshops throughout the empire. There were doubtless numerous artists in special lines, such as the makers of genii,[1] whose shops and factories were situated behind the temple of Castor at Rome.

Near all the more important temples there were probably colonies of artists and artisans, who enabled pious visitors from all parts to show their reverence for the deity by offerings and presents (images, ex-votos, votive tablets), and furnished sacred souvenirs to be taken home; the services of these artists would also be utilized for repairs and decorations. Paintings and bronze and silver statues of the new god Glycon, in the form of a snake with human face, exhibited by Alexander of Abonuteichos to his faithful followers, were to be procured in Paphlagonia and the neighbouring districts. Demetrius the silversmith of Ephesus made models of the temple of the great Artemis, and copies of the famous statue of the goddess herself must have been on sale at various prices. A dealer in ivory wares, mentioned in an inscription found near the temple of Feronia at the foot of Soracte, may have retailed such souvenirs to pilgrims. The clay idols of Aphrodite of Cnidus were supposed to work miracles on the sea; as early as the beginning of the seventh century B.C. it was said that a ship from Naucratis during a fearful storm was saved by an antique statuette of Aphrodite, belonging to one of the passengers, who had bought it in Paphos. Clay figurines of the Cyprian goddess, some sitting, others standing (sometimes with a child in her arms), partly in the strict archaic style, have been found in different places on the island, also in Athens, Syria, Bagdad, the Crimea, and other places.

[1] CIL, vi, 363.9,177, where, however, Henzen reads *argentarii* (silver workers) for *geniarii*.

Thus, the task imposed upon the arts by Roman culture was threefold : to provide believers with images of the divinity in suitably decorated sanctuaries ; to perpetuate the memory of persons and events ; to brighten and adorn the abodes of both living and dead. Each of these needs was deeply rooted in Roman civilization as developed by the requirements of universal empire, which spread them gradually over the subject world. Art, which alone could fulfil those requirements, followed civilization to the farthest limits of the immense empire.

This has been sufficiently shown by the facts already stated. But no amount of facts would enable us to form a clear idea of this enormous productivity of the arts, which lasted for centuries without intermission, over an area of more than 100,000 square miles. Artistic needs and the activities evoked by them are only known to us moderns as comparatively rare, isolated, and closely restricted phenomena. The need of art, which filled a whole world and perished with Roman civilization itself, remains to a certain extent incomprehensible to us ; the fact that it was really completely satisfied appears fabulous, in spite of irrefutable testimony. The imagination is bewildered by the attempt to estimate the exuberance of works of art of all kinds produced every year in thousands of towns, ever accumulating in still greater numbers in spite of attempts at destruction.

The discovery of buried cities has certainly afforded us a glimpse of this vanished artistic splendour of the Roman world ; and although it has only shown us a diminutive and mutilated portion of the whole, its value is inestimable. These remains create the impression that wealth so lavishly scattered must have been practically inexhaustible. There is no reason to assume that Herculaneum and Pompeii were in any way superior to other cities of Italy in artistic adornment ; on the contrary, everything tends to show that they only represented the average. In the fifteenth century, Ostia was an inexhaustible mine of antiques ; a Florentine of the period was amazed at the number of statues, sarcophagi, mosaics and ruins. Nine years' excavations at Aricia (1787–1796) revealed the greater part of the splendid collection of sculptures made by Cardinal Despuig of Palma in Majorca. Also, works like the Jupiter of Otricoli and the Minerva of Velletri justify us in

assuming that even second-rate towns were richly adorned. In wealth and magnificence they were far surpassed by important cities, such as Capua, Bononia, and Ravenna, and places like Antium (specially distinguished in this respect), which in their turn were left far behind by Rome.

We possess some numerical details of the works of art in Rome. These are furnished partly by statistical notices at the end of a fourth century description of the city (*Curiosum*), based upon a carelessly compiled original belonging to the first century; and partly by a more complete redaction of these notices, used by Zacharias, rhetor and bishop of Melitene, in the composition of his ecclesiastical history in the year 546. We cannot ascertain how much of the information given dates from the first century (about the time of the survey of the city under Vespasian), or how much is an addition from later inventories (such as those of the *curator statuarum*, an official whose name first occurs under Constantine); but in any case it is extremely incomplete. The following is the list. Two colossal bronze statues (that of Augustus in the form of Apollo in the temple of the latter on the Palatine, and that of Nero changed by Vespasian into a sun-god), 22 colossal equestrian statues, 80 gilded and 74 (or 77) ivory images of gods (not reckoning those inside the temples), and 3,785 bronze statues 'of emperors and generals'. Thus, the list does not include the remaining portrait statues of bronze, the numerous 'profane' marble statues, the marble and ungilded bronze images of the gods, which of course were far more numerous than the more costly ones. If we include the statues in the temples, public buildings (*thermae*, porticoes, theatres), palaces and private houses, we can understand how Cassiodorus, after all the destruction (especially by fire) and ravages of earlier and later centuries, could still declare that 'there dwelt within the walls of Rome a people of statues'. 'A great number of these ornaments survived till the seventh century, when Constans II (after 641) plundered Rome so thoroughly, that hardly anything of importance can have been left'. Nevertheless, the remains of the marble works alone, excavated on the site of the city, are sufficient to fill several palaces and museums.

(*d*) *Artistic Industry*

We have shown how the need of art pervaded the entire

Roman world to an extent almost incredible to us moderns, and how indispensable in all its branches it was to State, to religion, and private life. Of course its extension, and the excellence and range of its productions were in proportion to the condition of the civilization in whose service it was employed. Where civilization was lasting and firmly rooted, its development was rich and magnificent. This, in all probability, was the case even at the farthest eastern limits of the empire, in the cities of the East Jordan district of Batanaea and in Palmyra; Moltke found at Samosata 'the most beautiful marble frieze he had ever seen, with foliage, birds, and oxen as excellently preserved as if they had just been completed'. Where Roman culture was only temporary and superficial, art did not advance beyond paltry beginnings, although even in the least Romanized frontier districts it was not entirely absent. This is shown partly by inscriptions relating to the erection of statues (e.g., in Moesia and Dacia), partly by remains of images, which must have been made on the spot. Near the outposts of the third legion farthest to the south of Tripolis, at the edge of the Hammara, funeral monuments of officers were adorned with sculptures. The best Mithrases of the Rhine districts, the most important of this kind of memorials, are made of Jura limestone, none of marble. All the works there, of this material and of sandstone, are the productions of provincial sculptors and stonemasons, most of whom, although to some extent they imitated Roman models, only possessed a mechanical skill. The fragment (found at Cologne) of a group representing the flight of Aeneas with Anchises from Troy, a capable piece of work, dating at latest from the time of Trajan, is also of Jura limestone. The two Minerva statues from Oehringen in Würtemberg (*Vicus Aurelii* in the *agri decumates*) are also excellent works by native artists. They are made of a yellow fine-grained sandstone, quarried in the neighbourhood, and a very favourite material for Roman memorials in Heidelberg, Ladenburg, Osterburken, and other places. The admirable Orpheus mosaic at Rottweil is made of native stone, and the name of the artist (Pervincus, which often occurs in Mainz and to the south of it) on the famous Neptune mosaic of Bilbel on the Nidda betrays his non-Roman origin. In England also inscriptions have been found which mention a brass-founder and a sculptor. Provincial produc-

tions in painting as well as in mosaic were probably not so inferior to Italian as in the case of sculpture. The better wall paintings of the Roman villas in Gallia Belgica are equal to those of Pompeii.

Leaving out of consideration the varying stages of artistic development in more or less civilized lands, the remains of art throughout the Roman empire exhibit on the whole a complete agreement, not merely in composition and treatment, but also in motives and subjects, with the possible exception of the Celtic districts, which may perhaps be said to have possessed an artistic development of their own.

As contrasted with the 'crowded painted figures' of the reliefs on the tomb of the Julii at St. Remy, the other reliefs of the imperial period almost create the impression of 'a return to the simpler art of earlier times'. But especially in the numerous and important sepulchral monuments of the Meuse and Moselle districts, where the most interesting productions of provincial artists are to be found, there appears an independent and decidedly realistic tendency, and at the same time 'a freshness and skill in moulding, such as Italian monuments cannot show after the time of Hadrian'. Mythological incidents, a favourite subject in Italy for sarcophagi, are entirely absent; the reliefs which adorn these memorials represent scenes from the daily life of the deceased, remarkably true to life, and showing extreme care in the reproduction of details. They differ so greatly from Italian works, that specialists are inclined to doubt whether they belong to the age of Roman antiquity at all. Even in construction and ornamentation they exhibit many peculiarities. The development of this unique artistic tendency in Belgic Gaul is the more remarkable, because in the Rhine countries art is entirely under Italian influence. It would seem as if a hellenizing stream of civilization and art, starting from Marseilles, had travelled along the Rhône and the Saône as far as the Moselle.

Two other provinces are distinguished by artistic peculiarities of quite a different kind: Egypt, the only land where a very old native art, radically different from the universal Greco-Roman, continued to exist, and Palestine, where the religion of the inhabitants filled them with aversion from the plastic arts.

The unexampled conservatism which distinguished Egypt

above all other ancient lands is especially shown by the fact that under the Roman empire architecture, painting and sculpture were essentially the same as during the whole period that followed the loss of national independence. However numerous the changes in art during the course of many centuries, due chiefly to foreign influences and a coarseness dating from the time of the Ptolemies, they were not perceptible to the casual observer of ancient or modern times. Even Egyptian specialists have expressed the belief that certain sculptures of the second century A.D. (as is shown by their inscriptions) might have been produced 3,000 years before Christ. The temples of the Egyptian deities in imperial times were built in accordance with ancient traditions, and the technique of all other arts remained essentially unaltered. The temple walls were still covered with the same carvings and hieroglyphics ; the carved and architectural ornaments were still gilded in the same manner ; the colours of the paintings were as lively and lasting as in the time when the palaces of Thebes and the Nubian grottoes were built. And yet there is no doubt that a Greco-Roman art existed by the side of the native Egyptian. A complete isolation of Egypt in relation to a neighbouring province like Cyrenaica would be almost inconceivable ; now, in the latter, important remains bear witness to the flourishing condition of architecture, sculpture and painting even in the Roman period. According to an English traveller, ' every part of the city of Cyrene and its suburbs must have been full of statues ', and excavation would certainly bring to light many excellent sculptures. But the employment of the art of this neighbouring country would not alone have been able to satisfy the need of Egypt, after it became a Roman province. Greek artists and artisans also must have been at hand for artistic undertakings of every kind in a province which was the residence of a Roman governor and his court and had a standing garrison of two legions, and in which there were numerous Greek and Roman inhabitants and visitors. If they worked also for Egyptians, as the portraits found in Fayum seem to show, there is all the more reason to assume that representations of the Greeks and Romans living in Egypt were the work of Greek, not of Egyptian artists. Numerous statues of Antony and Cleopatra had already been erected there ; the former were demolished after the battle of Actium, while

the latter were left standing. Eight or nine years later statues of Augustus were carried off from the frontier districts of Philae, Elephantine, and Syene as trophies by invading Aethiopians. Later, a general tax was imposed in Egypt for the erection of imperial statues, and its first Roman Praefect, Cornelius Gallus, ordered his own to be set up throughout the country. A stone tablet at Philae with a report by him (on the suppression of a revolt in the Thebaid, March, 29) contains a likeness of the Emperor (in the form of a horseman galloping up to an enemy fallen on his knees) in deep relief, 'which is foreign to Egyptian art'. Other plastic work mentioned by writers of the imperial period are rather to be attributed to Egyptian artists working in the national manner. Vitrasius Pollio, procurator of Egypt under Claudius, attempted to make statues of the porphyry from the great quarries on the Red Sea (*mons Claudianus*), then opened for the first time, and sent specimens of them to Rome; some remains of these sculptures undoubtedly executed on the spot are apparently still in existence. The innovation, however, met with little approval, and it was not till the third century that a liking for plastic work in porphyry came into fashion. Statues (perhaps chiefly of Egyptian deities) were also made of stone from Memphis. The portrait statue of Pescennius Niger in black marble from the Thebaid was to be seen as late as the time of Diocletian, in the palace of the latter; it had been presented to him by 'the King of the Thebans' or 'the Theban community'.

The aversion of the Jews from the plastic arts, based on their religious dogmas, is well known; 'no images', says Tacitus, 'are to be seen in their cities, to say nothing of their temples; they do not flatter kings, nor show respect to emperors in this manner'. The strictest Jews even refused to set foot in places containing heathen images. Rabbi Gamaliel the second (in the time of Hadrian) excused his visit to the bath of Aphrodite at Acco (Ptolemais) on the ground that the image of Aphrodite was there for the sake of the bath, not the bath for the sake of the image. The Essenes even refused to enter the cities, to avoid going through gates surmounted by statues, since they held it unlawful to walk beneath images. This reminds us of the fact that in Palestine (in towns where there was a heathen element, sometimes in the majority) the gates and other public buildings did not lack adornment; hence, even if the Jewish hatred

of images was able to prevent the exercise of the arts by Jews, it could not control foreigners, nor hinder the introduction of foreign works of art. Herod the Great adorned his magnificent buildings with sculptures, disregarding the reprobation of the orthodox. At the mouth of the harbour of Caesarea constructed by himself stood three colossal images, and in the temple of Augustus colossal statues of the emperor and the goddess Roma ; the gardens of his splendid palace at Jerusalem contained ponds full of brazen works of art from which the water spouted. At the outbreak of the Jewish war the palace of the tetrarch Herod Antipas in Tiberias was destroyed because of the images which offended against the law. At Caesarea Philippi several niches have been hewn in a wall of rock, which may formerly have contained images of the gods.

The plastic arts were sometimes employed in Palestine even on representations of living persons. The portraits of her children sent by the Princess Alexandra to Antony have already been mentioned. The death of King Agrippa (44) caused a brutal outburst of joy at Caesarea and Sebaste ; the soldiers dragged the statues of his three daughters (sixteen, ten, and six years old) on to the roofs of the brothels, and infamously insulted them. Publius Petronius, proconsul of Syria, when ordered by Caligula to set up his colossal statue in the temple at Jerusalem, sent for the most skilled artists from Phoenicia, and intrusted its execution to them ; the work was done at Sidon, the material being supplied by Petronius. After Agrippa had induced the emperor to abandon his intention, Caligula had a colossus of gilded bronze made in Rome, to avoid the disturbance which the transport of the statue from Sidon would have caused.

Some considerable portion of the works of art intended for the provinces may have been ordered and made in Rome, certainly for the buildings and artistic undertakings projected by the emperors, sometimes even for the use of the provincials themselves. At Trapezus (Trebizond) where Xenophon and the emperor Hadrian first saw the Euxine, Arrian found a statue of the latter erected in memory of his visit, with hand outstretched towards the sea. But as it was neither a good likeness nor well executed, Arrian begged the emperor to send another, more worthy of him, in the same attitude. In the

same place there was a beautiful temple of Mercury built of squared stones, containing a badly-executed statue of the god ; Arrian begged Hadrian to send a new one five feet high, and another of Philesius (a local hero descended from Hermes) four feet high. The statue of Victory, which in the year 61 was supposed to have turned round in the temple of Claudius at Camoludunum (Colchester), as well as the statue of the emperor himself, was no doubt sent from Rome to Britain. Sarcophagi found outside Rome, not only in Italy, but, e.g., one found in Crete (now in the Cambridge museum) are evidently of Roman workmanship. The facilities for transporting to Rome the products of gold, silver and copper mines and marble quarries by sea or on the Tiber (near whose harbour at the foot of the Aventine the marble storehouse of imperial Rome has been discovered in modern times) made it easy to execute works of art on a very large scale. We may suppose that there was a small army of artists and artisans, excellently organized with a view to co-operation, such as Hadrian took with him on his journeys, whose services were always at the emperor's disposal ; only on rare occasions, when some especially important or urgent work had to be carried out, was it necessary to employ artists from outside, as was done by Alexander Severus, when he ordered a large number of colossal statues, especially of the deified emperors. Sculptors' workshops, in which statues, heads complete and in outline, various kinds of marble, and sculptors' tools of all kinds have been found (when the foundations of the Chiesa nuova on Monte Giordano were being laid), were numerous in the ninth *regio* (between the *porticus* of Europa, the Circus agonalis, and the Via Recta) and without doubt in other places.

There are many indications that numbers of sculptors and stonemasons, who outlined and worked in the rough, or completed works of sculpture, were to be found in the marble and other quarries, which furnished material for statues. The discarded colossus of Apollo in Naxos (10·6 metres long) lies still incomplete in the marble quarries, from which it was chiselled. In Megara the highly prized and widespread ' Megarian sculptures ' were made from the shell-marble quarried there. In the ancient Luna the production of works in marble of all kinds must have been far greater than in the modern Carrara, where in 1871 there were no less than 115 sculptors' workshops, and

3,000 of the 10,000 inhabitants (besides many foreigners) found employment in sculpture and marble work.

The account of the martyrdom of Claudius and his comrades under Diocletian affords interesting evidence of the making of sculptures in the quarries themselves. The author, who seems to have drawn upon oral tradition or the written memoranda of contemporaries or persons nearly contemporary, is well acquainted with Roman art as still practised on an extensive scale in the time of Diocletian, and thoroughly at home in its details and technical expressions. He was certainly acquainted with the locality of his narrative, the stone-quarries of Pannonia (probably near Mitrovitz on the spurs of the Frushka-Gora) and the works carried on there, in which perhaps he had himself taken part. His exact statements (especially of numbers) seem worthy of confidence. According to him, three kinds of stones were to be procured there, two kinds of marble for statues, resembling the Thasian (white) and Proconnesian (black and spotted with white) and so named, and a green porphyry ; all three are still found there, as well as numerous ruins of Roman buildings. Six hundred and twenty-two stonemasons (*quadratarii*) worked under five heads of the technical department (*philosophi*) ; they were distributed in districts of mines (*officinae*), the subdivisions of which were called *loca*, and produced artistic and imposing sculptural works. By Diocletian's command a figure of the sun-god (25 feet high) with his four-in-hand was made of Thasian marble ; columns and capitals, ornamented basins and slipper-baths of green porphyry, all perhaps intended for Diocletian's *thermae* at Rome. The work on a column with leafy capital, ' a wonderful piece of art ', took three months, another only twenty-six days. The emperor's satisfaction with the work of the five Christian artists (Claudius and his four comrades) aroused the envy of the directors. As the Christians refused to make a statue of Aesculapius for Diocletian, the *philosophi* had one made of Proconnesian stone by other workmen in less than thirty days.

Images were, no doubt, kept in stock for sale in many places, chiefly in Greece and Asia Minor, which even in imperial times sent most artists to Rome, but probably also exported a considerable number of sculptures. The Alexandrian travellers in India, who put in at Cana in Arabia Felix, took statues as presents for the king of the country. In the romance

of Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana meets in the Piraeus a ship sailing for Ionia, which its owner, a merchant, had freighted with valuable images of the gods, some of gold and marble, others of gold and ivory. Images and other objects of worship were made not only to order, but also for merchants and brokers for trading purposes, as well as a considerable part of the works of art intended for decoration. The settlers in the Roman colonies of the Rhine and Danube countries could no doubt purchase in the shops 'of the dealers in bronze and clay figures' all kinds of the little images (especially of Mercury and Hermes) so frequently found in those districts. The making of images of the gods was, and continued to be, the chief industry of plastic artists and artisans. This is shown by the fact that those who became Christians declared they could not abandon the work which was now a reproach to them, since they did not know how else they were to live. Further, they appealed to the making of the brazen serpent by Moses.

The mass of sarcophagi shows that they were made in factories, which is confirmed by the discovery of large numbers in the warehouses ready for sale, only waiting the final touches of the chisel when customers were found. The portrait medallions common in the centre frequently contain only the rough outlines of a face, to which the features of the deceased were afterwards added; in like manner, space was left for the name below the superscription D.M. (*dis manibus*) found on all epitaphs. Lastly, many of the statues of honour, made as if in a mould, no doubt formed part of the stock of the sculptors' workshops. As in the case of the portrait medallions, the heads were not finished till the work was ordered, and the neck was hollowed out to receive special heads, as is shown by numerous examples. The heads and legs of statues in armour were frequently added by another hand.

But only part of the works of art could be made away from the place where they were to be set up or used. All the better personal memorials were made on the spot, and as a rule the finishing touch added even to the inferior. Similarly, artistic decorations (paintings, mosaics, stuccos) were mostly executed in the rooms they were intended to adorn. The rapid and enormous circulation of the imperial images cannot be adequately explained by their conveyance from a

number of different centres. Some of the artists and others who undertook great works of art, who possessed or hired workmen in all artistic departments, must have travelled from place to place. In the words of Goethe, 'whole colonies, expeditions, swarms, clouds, or whatever you please to call them, of artists and artisans were ordered where they were needed. Think of the hosts of masons and stone-masons, moving backwards and forwards through central Europe at that time, when a seriously religious mode of thought had spread over the Christian Church'. One of these wandering artists, Zeno of Aphrodisias, boasts in an inscription that he had passed through many cities relying on his art; statues in Syracuse and Rome, bearing the same name, are doubtless his work. A certain Novius Blaesamus, according to the inscription on his grave, had adorned Rome and the empire with his statues; a worker in mosaic at Perinthus had exercised his art, in which he excelled all others, in all the cities of the empire. The fame of the artists spread rapidly as the result of their great achievements. Zenodorus, who had executed the colossal statue of Mercury for Clermont, was summoned by Nero to Rome, to perform the same service for him.

According to Lucian, however, in his *Dream*, the life of a sculptor, as compared with that of the wandering sophists, was a sedentary one, and no doubt in the more important towns there were settlements of artists in constant employment. This is established for the fourth century by the letter of Constantine to the governors of Spain, Gaul, and Britain in the year 337. The artists resident in the cities were ordered to be excused from undertaking work for the communities, that they might have time to learn their art thoroughly and instruct their sons in it; the artists specially named were architects, builders, painters, sculptors (as distinct from the makers of statues), and workers in mosaic (two classes). In the second-rate towns even there was no lack of sculptors' workshops, such as have been found in Thysdrus and Pompeii (not to mention Athens and Rome); in the latter tools for carving in stone, marble statues, herms, busts, tables with various legs, and an unfinished marble mortar have been discovered. In the other towns of Italy, and in the provinces (except Greece and Asia Minor) inscriptions relating to artists are not numerous.

Although art and artistic work were no doubt carried on in different parts of the empire by resident artists and their descendants (as is assumed in the rescript of Constantine), local and provincial styles and peculiarities can only exceptionally be recognized. The chief characteristic of the art of the imperial period is above all its uniformity in subject, conception, treatment, and technique, which is doubly striking when the wide extent of its operations is considered. Except in Gaul (especially Gallia Belgica) where art took a new and peculiar direction, and in Egypt, where the old national art held its ground, the artistic remains throughout the empire give the impression of homogeneousness. Any essential perceptible differences can be accounted for by the variety of the models imitated, the higher or lower state of development of art, the greater or less artistic skill of the artists. A mosaic, whether excavated in Tunis or England, in Andalusia or Salzburg, exhibits the same characteristics. An analysis of the painted stucco, of the wainscoting of Roman houses at Bignor in Sussex revealed to Sir Humphrey Davy the same colouring materials as in the painted stucco of the baths of Titus and the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum; and the wall painting of the Roman villas in Gallia Belgica and in Pompeii not only exhibits the same decoration and technique, but the preparation of the plastering and the manner of laying on the colours are essentially similar. Everywhere stonemasons and sculptors worked according to Italian models. In the Echern valley near Hallstadt a Roman sepulchral memorial in the form of a gable has been discovered, representing a medallion portrait between a reclining female figure and a genius; there are similar monuments at Huesca in Aragon, in France, Italy and Dalmatia.

This uniformity can only be partly explained by the migrations of artists and the production of works of art for commercial purposes. Its chief cause was the finished development of Greek art at the time when it first entered into the service of Roman civilization. This development had been unprecedented. It had produced an immense wealth of form and ideas, and had brought to perfection a many-sided method of treatment and representation. Thanks to this heritage, a subsequent epoch, although it lacked creative power of its own, was able to exist for centuries without the appearance

of impoverishment. Persistent adherence to tradition, one of the chief differences between ancient and modern art, proved a double blessing to the people of that age. Instead of striving after an impossible originality and sacrificing the precious heritage of former days to fruitless experiments, recognizing its value they were shrewd enough to keep it intact for a considerable time. Art moved continuously within familiar limits and even new problems were solved in accordance with time-honoured laws. Thus, what at first sight appears inconceivable became possible. Art, even centuries after it was completely developed, maintained its eminent position ; at a time of real, though slow, decay sculpture could still produce works superior to most of the productions of modern plastic art ; and, in spite of its enormous productivity, a remnant of the nobility of the ancient forms survived even to the latest times of the empire.

Another cause of the uniformity of the art of the period was the levelling influence of Roman civilization. Rome was the model for the other cities of the empire in everything, but had the strongest claim to set the example in art. For in Rome 'works of art of every kind, of all ages and schools, carried off from Greece, Asia and Egypt, and stored in temples and public buildings, villas and palaces, provided inexhaustible material for education in art' ; in Rome the most important artists of the world foregathered, and the greatest works of art were executed ; Rome was a high school for art, the like of which had never been seen before. The provincials demanded imitations of all that was held in favour and esteem in the capital ; the Romans settled in the provinces for longer or shorter periods refused to be deprived entirely of the artistic luxury to which they were accustomed. The claims of both were satisfied by the services of a host of artists and artisans who poured into Rome from the provinces and back again ; thus, everything combined to set up a uniform fashion in art throughout the empire.

Decorative and religious art could fulfil their task for the most part by simple reproduction of what was already in existence, which also provided patterns and models for nearly all the subjects of monumental art. When simple repetition was insufficient, new ideas could be expressed by altering and developing the original motives, or the existing material

transformed into something apparently new by modifications and variations, by separating and combining. With this object, figures were detached from their natural connexion and used independently or combined with others, or originally independent figures were introduced into groups. It cannot be denied that this mode of procedure, which finds its obvious analogy in Roman poetry, produced many a work excellent in form and idea. Thus, for example, Venus looking at herself in the shield of Mars was changed into a goddess of victory recording victory on the shield; she appears not merely as a statue, but in sarcophagus reliefs, in which very frequently figures, motives and groups are borrowed from older works and variously employed in new compositions. Also, she is grouped with Mars, embracing him in the arms with which she held the shield; this attitude, a favourite one in imperial times, is repeated on sarcophagi and in four still existing statue groups. Similarly, a well-known and admirable group (Orestes and Electra) has been converted into an 'Orestes and Pylades', without sacrificing the composition and poetical motive. In the so-called Thusnelda in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence the credit of the highly-successful national characterization alone is due to the artist; the magnificent design was borrowed by him from the mourning women of ancient art. Old forms were also very successfully used for images—rendered necessary by the introduction of new cults. The worship of Mithras did not spread in the West until the imperial period; and in the reliefs of the Mithras caves we find only well-known forms, borrowed from the storehouse of Greek art. The god kneeling on the bull is nothing but a transformation of the goddess of victory sacrificing a bull; similarly the other figures of this composition are borrowed, only the grouping and certain additional symbols being new. Josephus mentions another example of this method. In the temple of Augustus built by Herod at Caesarea the colossal statue of the emperor was an imitation of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, 'not inferior to the original'; that of Roma an imitation of the Hera of Polycletus at Argos. A whole series of imperial statues with the upper part of the body bare and a cloak wrapped round the thigh exhibits a more or less free imitation of the motive of the Phidian statue. In portrait statues, as already mentioned, the forms as a rule follow

older types. The so-called Pudicitia in the Vatican and the 'women of Herculaneum' belong to the large stock of female draped statues, the motives of which belong partly to the Attic art of the fourth century, and partly to the hellenistic period, and recur in a number of sepulchral statues.

But not merely was the exact reproduction of older works amply sufficient for decorative purposes; it was also evidently the desire of the majority of art collectors to possess as faithful copies as possible of well-known and favourite figures. Lucian mentions the following statues (all, of course, copies) in the court of a private house at Athens; the *discobolus* of Myron, the *diadumenus* of Polycletus, the tyrannicides of Critias and Nesiotes. Naturally, the most famous works were most frequently reproduced. Thus, the still numerous reproductions of the Aphrodite, Faunus, and Apollo of Praxiteles and a number of others (e.g., the so-called Medicean Venus) are from originals for the most part unknown. Were not the inscriptions on the statues for the most part lost, we should probably know many of them. Thus, a Venus in the Chigi palace at Rome, according to the inscription, was copied by a certain Menophantus from an original in Alexandria Troas. These copies were circulated in all the provinces. At Soissons a group from the cycle of the Niobidae (the youngest son with his *paedagogus*), at Trèves a copy of the Venus of Milo and the Amazon of Mattei have been found. Juba II, King of Mauretania, who was educated at the court of Augustus and, like his wife, Cleopatra Selene (daughter of Antony and Cleopatra), took a keen interest in Greek literature and art, adorned his capital Yol (Zershel, afterwards Caesarea) with copies of work of the best period of Greek sculpture. Several of these have been found on the spot—two copies of a female statue of the time of Phidias, a child extracting a thorn from his foot, a Faun blowing a flute, a Venus as goddess of the sea. According to Josephus, King Agrippa adorned the whole city of Berytus in Phoenicia 'with statues and copies of older works', by which we must certainly understand the masterpieces of the most flourishing period of Greek art, although in Quintilian's time the fondness for the antique and even the incunabula of art, which greatly increased after Hadrian's time, gave rise to numerous imitations also of pre-Phidian plastique.

The sculptors, 'who copied old masterpieces indifferently

from any period whatever', undoubtedly in many cases directly served an artistic historical interest. Amongst the bronzes, which adorned the villa of the owner of the library at Herculaneum, only the portraits are modern, ' and even in their case only the realism of the heads, not the pose, nor the clothing. Everything else is a mere repetition of the works of earlier creative periods of art'. This complete dependence of art upon earlier ages is also manifest in other departments. Quintilian speaks of painters who confined themselves to copying foreign works as closely as possible ; Lucian of free imitations and alterations of older pictures. Not merely the wall-paintings of Pompeii are in the main free imitations of artistic pictures, especially cabinets of the period of the Diadochi ; but all the wall decoration of the so-called third and fourth style exhibits the after-effects of the fantastic splendour developed at the festivals of the Ptolemies. The preservation of mosaic floors in the most different provinces shows that here also the same subjects were everywhere repeated : Nereids and sea-monsters especially in baths, imitations of remains of meals in dining-rooms (so common that the name *asarotum* was used simply in the sense of ' mosaic '), busts of poets and sages in libraries and studies, and so forth.

In the adornment of utensils and objects in general use the same models were also continually reproduced, both in imitations by the hand of the artist and in the production on a large scale in factories. Zenodorus the bronze-founder copied two beakers chiselled by Calamis so perfectly, ' that there was hardly any difference as far as artistic excellence was concerned '. The representations on the silver vessels found at Hildesheim, Boscoreale and other places are reproductions of older models, chiefly Alexandrian. Gems, paste ornaments, and other productions in glass also show more or less successful copies of the same models. But the most numerous specimens are those of the potteries, so abundant throughout the empire, the product of an uncommonly rich and variously developed artistic industry (frieze tablets, frontal tiles, vessels with ornaments and figures in relief, and especially lamps) which spread the noblest and most pleasing inventions of Greek art to the farthest limits of Roman civilization. ' All this pottery is pressed in moulds, and its mechanical multiplication explains why the same forms, figures, reliefs, ornaments,

and potters' names are found repeated all over the empire—in Africa, Spain and Gaul, on the Thames, the Rhine and the Danube, and in Cilicia. But the Roman ware was only to a very small extent directly imported ; it was found more convenient to provide the potteries with moulds and stamps. This produced differences in what was to be executed on the spot, in the mixing and working of the clay, in colouring and varnish ; on the other hand, the result of mould and stamp was everywhere the same. It would not be difficult, with the aid of the clay ware found in different places, almost completely to reconstruct the stock of moulds and stamps in a well-assorted Roman pottery. But the frequently perverse combination of the single moulded pieces in provincial potteries betrays a lack of intelligence. In a number of these ornamentations the manner in which they have arisen can be easily traced. We are partly acquainted with the originals, single figures or groups, as masterpieces of art of independent importance, which were in vogue in Rome and consequently used for decorative purposes. We find them again on larger architectural members, metopes or frieze plates, on sculptured sarcophagus reliefs, and lastly on clay vessels. Thus Rome, by dictating the prevailing taste in art to the whole empire, put a certain share in the art treasures of the capital within the reach of even the poorer inhabitants of the province '.

Of the earlier ages, upon which the art of the imperial period, whose only originality consisted in the execution of portraits, was dependent, the hellenistic period exercised far greater influence than the classical (fifth and fourth centuries), an influence apparently due far more to Alexandrian than to Attic-Pergamene art. Similarly, Alexandrian poetry was the standard for Roman in its best period, and Alexandrian music exercised a decisive influence upon Roman. But artistic industry, even more than art proper, was benefited by the immensely wealthy tradition of the hellenistic epoch, which was still in a high degree creative ; its effects extended to the modest workshops of the potters, stonemasons, room painters, goldsmiths and silversmiths. Between art and the profession of art, for which there were no specially distinctive terms, there existed no hard and fast line in antiquity ; on the contrary, at a time when production was in the main reproduction, and the artist as a rule was only

required to develop or make use of foreign invention, they were closely connected at several points. Since also the artisan trained his eye and hand by first-class models, technical skill was sufficient to produce good imitations. Consequently the profession to a great extent conquered the field which in earlier times belonged to art proper, and developed on this soil to an extent only possible when a need which affected even the lowest orders had to be satisfied. The discovery of the room decorations in a second-rate town like Herculaneum was sufficient to effect a revolution in the already highly developed artistic industry of Paris. The taste for the new fashion (*à la grecque*, as it was called) increased enormously according to Galiani in the years 1763 and 1767. Goldsmiths, jewellers, carriage and door painters, upholsterers, and makers of ornaments found 'Pitture di Ercolano' indispensable.

But under the empire art was in many respects carried on not merely as a profession, but as a manufacturing industry. The erection of buildings and the execution of important artistic works were very frequently, if not as a rule, handed over to contractors, sometimes artists themselves, sometimes only employers of artists. According to Plutarch (as already mentioned) competition was invited for the erection of colossal statues, and the work was given to the candidate who promised the best work at the lowest price. An average standard of artistic ability was assumed in the case of every contractor; an unusually high standard was rare, being seldom required and little valued. Thus, the price and time required for the work were the chief factors in determining the selection of the artist.

The high and rich development of artistic handicraft, and the use of art for manufacturing purposes rendered necessary a highly specialized division of labour, of which many traces have survived. There were workmen who did nothing but put in the eyes (made of some coloured material) of statues. All the more important artistic undertakings assumed the co-operation of a considerable number of artists and artisans under individual direction. Thus, during the last days of Pompeii (after the earthquake of 63), the decorations of the walls of the houses ('where the ornamentations seemed the work of a single mind and out of the same paint pot') were

evidently for the most part, if not entirely, the work of one and the same society of painters. Painters of arabesques, flowers, animals, landscapes and figures worked at the same frescoes in succession or side by side; since this was the only possible way of carrying out the work as promptly as was required. The fixedness of generally recognized norms and traditions, which relegated artistic individuality wholly or partially to the background, rendered the co-operation of two or more artists in the same work as common in antiquity as it is rare in modern times. In this respect there was apparently no change during the imperial period.

A great part of the workmen employed in the execution of more comprehensive artistic undertakings were slaves, and indeed slavery was essentially one of the factors on whose co-operation artistic production on a large scale depended. The artistic professions, whose productions perhaps satisfied the greatest part of the artistic need, could be learnt by any one who possessed a certain amount of cleverness and adaptability. Naturally, therefore, owners of slaves, who wanted to get as much out of them as possible, had them taught to make what was most in demand, amongst such things being works of art. Like bands of gladiators, troupes of actors, companies of singers and musicians, societies of painters and other artistic workers could be formed from large slave households, who were employed partly in decorating their masters' houses and partly in executing commissions on their account. Verres had a number of chasers and makers of metal vessels. Amongst the comforts of a modest but assured subsistence in old age, Naevolus in Juvenal hopes for 'a chaser in silver bent with stooping over his work, and another who is able rapidly to paint several faces', i.e., slaves, who could increase his income by specially profitable work. The painter would be specially in demand for the representations of historical events which were profusely illustrated by figures, or for illustrations in books. Besides, painters most frequently belonged to the class of slaves, and were of course common in the imperial household. The jurist Julianus (under Hadrian) discussing the compensation for the death of a slave, expresses the opinion that if a 'valuable painter' (*pretioso pictori*) gets his thumb cut off and he is killed within a year, the same value is to be put upon him as before his mutilation. In many cases

one of the conditions of the manumission of slaves trained in the same branch of art was that they should continue to work for their master in the arts they had learnt; and amongst such arts that of painting is expressly mentioned.

The fact that works of art were in the main produced by slave labour and were generally in use made such labour cheap. But even free artisans were not too well paid. In the edict of Diocletian, the daily wage of the workmen who attended to the artistic decoration of houses is based upon the supposition that they, like the rest, received their board from the landlord. The pay of the stucco-worker is the same as that of the bricklayer, carpenter, lime-burner, carriage maker, baker and smith; that of the mosaic worker is a sixth higher, that of the clay and stucco modeller half as much again, that of the portrait painter three times as high. The casting of statues in bronze was paid by the pound. In the case of statues, the result of their production on a large scale was a great lowering of price. In the time of Alexander the Great 3,000 drachmae (£118) seems to have been the usual price for a statue; whereas Dio of Prusa in his Rhodian speech says that a (bronze) statue could be erected for 1,000 (£39) or even 500 (£19 10*s*.). Abundant evidence from inscriptions proves that this low estimate is not far from the truth. On several statues of gods and emperors from Gaul, Switzerland, Spain and Africa the prices, ranging (according to size, work and material) from 3,000 to 20,000 sesterces (£32 15*s*. to £217 10*s*.) and above, are given on the still extant pedestals. Probably in factories and shops the price of the different kinds of statues was fixed for customers and those who gave commissions. When a provincial priest from Baetica, who at the same time had filled the office of *duumvir* in his native Corduba, in recognition of the honours bestowed upon him caused statues to be erected there at a total cost of 400,000 sesterces (£4,350) they were 20 to 133 in number; when a freedman of Assisi, an oculist, who was also *sevir* of the Augustales, gave 30,000 sesterces (£326) for setting up statues in the temple of Hercules, they could at most have numbered ten; and the legacy left by an equestrian officer of Grenoble (50,000 sesterces, £548) 'for statues' would have sufficed at most for sixteen.

We know little of the fees, properly so called, paid to artists. Lucullus commissioned his friend the sculptor Arcesilaus

to execute a statue of the goddess Felicitas for 60,000 sesterces (£526), but the death of both prevented the completion of the work. The same artist sold Octavius, a Roman knight, the plaster model of a bowl for a talent (£235 15*s*.). Unfortunately, Suetonius does not mention the high fee paid by Vespasian for the restoration of the Venus of Apelles and the colossus of Nero. Zenodorus received from the capital of the Arverni (mod. Clermont) 400,000 sesterces in fees alone (*manupretium*) for his colossus of Mercury, on which he spent ten years.

These fees appear by no means small, even if the intrinsic value of money at that time is reckoned no higher than at the present day; they are as large or larger than those paid to many of the most prominent artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The two hunting and fishing groups, ordered by Louis XV from Adam the elder for the gardens at Choisy and subsequently presented by him to Frederic the Great, cost (in 1756) 52,000 *livres* (about 160,000 *francs*); a figure of Abundantia by the same artist for the château of Choisy (in 1758) 10,000 *livres*. Bouchardon's famous 'Amor, breaking up the club of Hercules to make arrows' fetched the enormous sum of 20,000 *livres*. Pigalle, who had received 24,000 *livres* for an amor in 1750, undertook the memorial of Marshal Saxe in the church of St. Thomas at Strasburg for 85,000 *livres* (about 300,000 *francs*), which was paid in four instalments, although the work was not completed till the reign of Louis XVI.

Rietschel received a fee of 16,500 marks (£825) for the group of Goethe and Schiller at Weimar, on which he spent three years; his expenses amounted to 4,800 (£240). Consequently when at the height of his fame he did not make on the average much more than 3,900 marks (£195) a year, not half as much as Zenodorus in a provincial city, even assuming the same intrinsic value of money for the first and the nineteenth centuries. For the model of the eight feet statue of Kant at Königsberg (the brass for which cost more than 10,000 marks) Rauch received 6,000 marks, not much more than the fee of Arcesilaus for the model of the bowl.

(*e*) *The Artists*

The extent to which art as a mechanical profession occupied the field of art proper, and the humble position of the

majority of those who practised both, could not fail to influence the estimation in which art was regarded by persons of education. Both these circumstances were bound to cause those who were not intelligent enough to understand the real nature of the two, to regard art and technical skill as more or less synonymous, and the true artist as merely a superior artisan. Certainly, those philosophers who, recognizing moral elevation as the only aim worthy of their aspirations, speak with contempt of artistic activity, do not mean to depreciate the fine arts as such. When Plutarch declares that no young man, who is inspired by noble sentiments, will ever desire to become a Phidias or a Polycletus after he has seen the Olympian Zeus or the Argive Hera, he is careful to add, 'any more than he will desire to become an Anacreon, a Philetas or an Archilochus, after he has read their poems. For whatever be the enjoyment caused by a graceful work, it does not necessarily make its author estimable'. These expressions of Plutarch by no means show (as has been argued) a contempt for artists as no better than ordinary artisans, but on the contrary put them on a level with the greatest poets. On the other hand Seneca, who looked upon the creations of art as objects of luxury, and refused them a place amongst the studies which trained the mind of the young to morality (grammar, music, geometry and astronomy), saw nothing but the artisan in the artist: 'while we adore idols, we despise those who fashion them'. In particular, the exclusive and exaggerated value attached to a literary and rhetorical education was combined with contempt for the fine arts and their professors. This certainly is Plutarch's point of view, when he puts not merely Alcamenes and Nesiotes, but even Ictinus in the same class as all those common people and artisans, who know nothing of oratory; and in the same spirit Lucian, a man of really artistic tastes, in his *Dream* introduces Sculpture as an uneducated, uncouth, horny-handed and dirty woman, while Rhetoric appears as a brilliant personality, who declares that even Polycletus and Phidias themselves must have appeared common artisans to the admirers of their works. Philostratus, who numbers poets, musicians, astronomers, and the best rhetoricians amongst the sages, at least consents to include painters and sculptors, together with sailors and countrymen, amongst the semi-sages, 'provided they follow the

Horae ; for even these arts approximate to wisdom '. According to Galen, the arts and sciences to be chiefly recommended when choosing a profession are medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, reckoning, astronomy, grammar and jurisprudence ; to these a man may add, if he pleases, painting and the plastic art. Speaking generally, we may assume that artists, like the arts themselves, were more highly esteemed in the Greek than in the Roman world at that period.

Of the two figurative arts (pictorial or plastic representation), it is clear that the plastic, even during the period of Roman domination, was almost entirely in the hands of Greeks by birth or education. Virgil, with genuine Roman arrogance, declared that the nation which was destined to conquer and rule the world need not trouble to dispute the superiority of others in giving life to bronze and producing living features from marble. Of all the well-known sculptors of the Roman period very few (such as Coponius) could be considered Romans by birth. At Rome, during the last days of the republic as well as under the empire, it was Greeks (especially Athenians) and Greeks from Asia Minor who produced the most admired masterpieces, were engaged in the most important artistic undertakings, and received the largest fees. The statue of Venus Genetrix in the temple dedicated by Julius Caesar in 46 was the work of Arcesilaus ; it was the Athenian Diogenes who adorned the pantheon of Agrippa with caryatides and statues ; the artists, generally working in pairs, who, according to Pliny, ' filled the imperial palaces with the most famous statues ', were all Greeks.

The case of painting was quite different. ' Thanks to their adherence to the ancient tradition of covering the walls with stucco the Italians early attained a certain skill in mural painting '. One reason why the Romans preferred painting to the plastic art was that it lent itself much better to the faithful and vivid representation of events. In ancient times painting was considered no disgrace to men of the highest birth. Thus, in 304 B.C., one of the Fabian gens decorated the temple of Salus with pictures, highly praised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which were in existence until the temple was burnt during the reign of Claudius. The surname Pictor became hereditary in the family of this Fabius. After the time of Pacuvius, whose life extends to the period of the Gracchi,

painting certainly was not practised by 'respectable people' to use the expression of Pliny. It is probable that the Roman artists gradually gave place to Greek, who were more highly educated and invaded the city in ever increasing numbers; the longer and more generally painting was practised by foreigners, slaves, and freedmen, the less honourable it was considered for Romans. Valerius Maximus considered it incomprehensible that a Fabius should have devoted himself to so low an occupation without being ashamed of it.

But still, painting was always thought more highly of than the plastic art, and even in imperial times it was never entirely in the hands of the Greeks. For painting Pliny was able to use a Roman monograph by one Fabius Vestalis and biographies of painters by Cornelius Nepos; for the plastic art his only Roman authorities were antiquarian and miscellaneous works and encyclopaedias. During the reign of Augustus a boy of distinguished family (Quintus Pedius) was brought up as a painter; but he was dumb, and all the professions suitable to his rank were closed to him. Certainly, Pliny saw some fine paintings at Verona by a Roman knight named Turpilius. Fabullus, a brilliant though serious painter, who only worked a few hours a day, standing on his scaffolding, always wearing his toga with a dignified air, was chiefly employed in Nero's Golden House. Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus painted the interior of the temple of Honos and Virtus restored by Vespasian. Under Augustus the Roman painter Ludius (or Sextus Tadius) introduced a hellenistic style of decoration, which enjoyed great vogue; the skilful manner in which he satisfied the demands of the luxury of the period, his keen observation, his humour and thorough acquaintance with the means of representation, stamp him as a genuinely Roman artist.

To judge from the frequent occurrence of female names on ancient paintings, women also appear to have practised the art to a considerable extent. In 1847 the tomb of a female artist was discovered at Saint Médard-des-Près in La Vendée near the remains of a villa, in which fragments of delightful frescoes were found. Besides the skeleton of the deceased, the tomb contained a rich assortment of painter's requisites. According to Justin Martyr, women also practised as sculptors. At least he mentions as a proof of the licentious-

ness of the makers of idols, that they seduced the female slaves who assisted them in their work. But perhaps they may only have been models whom he had seen in the workshops, whose relations with the artists caused him such offence. Further, the technique of sculpture, as of painting, persisted in the West also till the last days of antiquity.

Architecture is the only art in which the Romans showed any creative activity. Corresponding as it were to a national taste, it was the only art which could not only effectively promote the ambitious aims of the State and its universal dominion, but also adequately expressed the consciousness of its right to the empire of the world. While dependent upon Greek influence in all other departments of art, in architecture the Romans have created those absolutely original works which, in spite of thousands of years, even at the present day, produce an effect so powerful and 'almost stupefying'—works with which Greek art has nothing to compare. When Frontinus proudly asks whether the inert masses of the Egyptian pyramids or the useless splendour of the famous Greek buildings can be compared with the Roman aqueducts, he is merely giving expression to a point of view, which although partial is not without justification.

The absolute necessity and the high importance of architecture in public as well as private life explain why it was considered the most respectable of all arts, and placed by Cicero on a level with the profession of medicine. Probably it was the most lucrative art, not only in Rome but in all the large towns of the empire, and consequently overcrowded. In the ranks of architects Roman citizens were found by the side of slaves, freedmen and foreigners in republican as well as imperial times. The work of Vitruvius on architecture was not the first Roman treatise on the subject. Of the famous imperial architects known to us, the only one of whom it can be affirmed with certainty that he was not a Roman is Apollodorus of Damascus, who superintended Trajan's buildings, and in 101 constructed the bridge over the Danube. Tacitus mentions as Nero's architects Severus and Celer (perhaps an imperial freedman), 'who possessed sufficient talent and boldness to attempt what Nature appeared to refuse'. Domitian's palace was built by Rabirius, who, according to Martial, had taken the starry heavens as a worthy model; Hadrian's

architect Decrianus was certainly a Roman. Pliny the Younger intrusted the building of a temple of Ceres to a certain Mustius, who skilfully surmounted the difficulties of the ground. The constructor of the bridge of Alcantara and an imperial temple connected with it on a rock near the Tagus is known to us from some verses hewn in stone, according to which, 'this bridge, which will stand as long as the universe shall last, was built by Lacer, famous for his divine art'. The name of the builder of the Pont du Gard, according to an inscription discovered on the spot, was Veranius ; on an arch at Antipolis (Antibes) Sextus Julius (his third name is mutilated) is named as its constructor. Even in the eastern provinces buildings were constructed by Roman architects. Costunius Rufinus built the temple of Zeus Asclepius at Pergamus, while Galen (after 147) was studying there under Satyrus ; the name of this architect was known even in Byzantine times, and the temple was considered one of the wonders of the world.

(*f*) *Artistic Feeling*

A comparatively small number of the many thousands of artists, who exercised their craft during the early centuries throughout the empire, are known to us by name, and nearly all of these only from their own inscriptions on their works. Notwithstanding the frequent allusions to artistic undertakings of all kinds the artists who carried them out are hardly ever mentioned. This is partly to be explained by the subordinate position held by artists in society, and also by the fact that artistic production was far more frequently the work of associations than of individuals, who being merely the instruments of a corporation were held in little regard. On the other hand, as already shown, the arts were not regarded as important and valuable for Roman civilization in themselves, but only so far as they were indispensable means to the attainment of ends universally and persistently kept in view. Lastly, the artistic production of that age appeared less important to contemporaries than it does to us, since they measured it by the standard of the creations of the Greek art at its best. At a time when works of the period from Phidias to Lysippus were so common, the lack of originality, the exaltation of the formal over the intellectual element, even in the most brilliant, imposing and graceful productions, could not

fail to strike all, even the least intelligent, who saw the two side by side. It is easy to understand why interest in art was by preference directed towards the past. But even then its nature and intensity were by no means identical in the Roman and Greek world; rather, this is just one of the departments in which the diversity of the two civilizations can be best appreciated even by us.

The victorious campaigns of the Romans in Greek countries after the conquest of Syracuse (212), and the spoils accumulated by generals, governors and emperors for two centuries and a half down to the time of Nero, filled Rome even to excess with an incredible number of the most perfect Greek works of art. The impression created by this incomparable collection of masterpieces, which attracted even the indifferent and hostile, was supplemented by the journeys in Greece undertaken with increasing frequency for pleasure or instruction by the Romans after the conquest of Corinth. Lastly, the Romans found their attention in many ways directed towards the fine arts by Greek literature, which more and more came to be recognized as the basis of all higher culture. Certainly, there is nothing to show that the original Greek works on the subject, which Pliny has utilized in his description of the world, were much read by the Romans. On the other hand, the epigrammatic and rhetorical literature of the Greeks contributed to spread a knowledge and criticism of art. The Greek specialists in the theory of oratory, whose writings were continually used and consulted by the Romans as authorities and guides in this science which dominated their entire educational system, were fond of comparing the development and various styles of oratory with those of the fine arts, and borrowed many technical artistic expressions for the terminology of rhetoric, which were adopted and circulated by the Roman writers on the art of oratory. Then, epigrammatic poetry, specially cultivated in Greece after the time of Alexander the Great, showed a marked predilection for the fine arts, and attempted to reproduce, by witticisms and badinage, the impression created by important works. Many of these poets, during the last days of the republic and the early empire, visited Rome, where they found inexhaustible material and ever fresh incitement to this sort of poetry in miniature; and we can easily understand how the Romans, who had little

time and still less taste for artistic studies, gladly embraced the opportunity of obtaining, without any trouble to themselves, information about much discussed works by the aid of these brief and characteristic judgments, whether really or only apparently appropriate, which were passed on from one to another by word of mouth. The criticisms in matters of art which we find in Pliny, nearly all taken from these Greek epigrams, show that this was no uncommon occurrence ; it is possible that Pliny found a ready-made collection of them in the work of the sculptor Pasitales on the most celebrated masterpieces of art in the world.

One of Varro's chief works shows that the Romans already recognized in the fine arts a very important element of universal civilization. Certainly, in his encyclopaedia, which treated of the nine chief arts and sciences, he has only given a place to architecture ; but in his collection of 700 portraits of famous men bearing their signatures, he admitted painters and sculptors to the company of kings, generals, statesmen, poets, writers, savants, and architects. This, like all Varro's works, exercised a great influence upon education in general, in later times as well as his own. Lucretius also includes paintings and the plastic art, as well as poetry, amongst the acquisitions of an advanced civilization, which gave charm to life. The detailed consideration of the history of art and artists, given in Pliny the elder's description of the world (written more than a century later) gives us reason to assume an increased interest in such things in educated Roman circles, the more so as the author himself was quite ignorant of artistic matters.

We do not know how far Varro's demand, that young girls should be taught painting, was realized ; but amongst the female painters whose names often occur on pictures there may probably have been some amateurs. The example of Aemilius Paulus, who allowed his sons to receive instruction from Greek painters and sculptors, may well have found imitators even in imperial times in the circles where a Greek education was specially favoured. In his early years Nero assiduously handled the paint-brush and modeller's stick. Hadrian also zealously devoted himself to these two arts, and even when emperor dabbled in painting. Marcus Aurelius was instructed in the same art by the Greek Diognetus, who seems also to have been a philosopher and in other respects to have influ-

enced his education. Alexander Severus, whose education was entirely Greek, 'was an excellent painter'; Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) also practised this art, and Valentinian was an amateur painter and sculptor. Although the case of two emperors brought up in Syria proves nothing about education at Rome, yet the number of royal artists is sufficiently large to allow us to assume that the instruction of the young in the fine arts and the resulting dilettantism of their later life, was by no means uncommon among the upper classes of the capital at all times. It is equally clear that this dilettantism was by no means looked upon as objectionable in itself. If Titedius Labeo (proconsul of Narbonensis) was ridiculed, and even insulted, for boasting about his skill in small panel pictures, it was not his dilettantism, but his ostentatious parade of it, that gave offence. However, if we compare these few instances of Roman dilettantism in the fine arts with the numerous proofs of their dilettantism in music, we obtain the impression that the former was by far less common than the latter.

Naturally, the Romans, when travelling for pleasure or instruction (especially in Greece and Asia Minor) did not fail to inspect the works of art, especially those which a fairly well-read man might be expected to know at least by reputation. They were even made the object of special journeys. But there is nothing to show that this interest in art was anything more than a superficial curiosity concerned with externalities, being chiefly aroused by the celebrity of the work and the artist. These journeys were mainly undertaken from historical interest, and the majority of the travellers no doubt felt, like Atticus, that even the splendour of the incomparable masterpieces of Athens was less attractive than their historical reminiscences. The accumulation of works of art by private persons at Rome is no proof of a wide-spread artistic feeling. The mere knowledge of their expensiveness was sufficient to make even those who had no more idea of their value than the uncultured conqueror of Corinth regard them as desirable spoil; and the store of works of art in Greek countries was inexhaustible enough to satisfy the greed of the Romans to the full. In course of time, marble columns, carpets, tables of citrus wood, silver ware, magnificent vessels, statues, and paintings were considered indispensable for the decoration of the houses and villas of the rich. No special amateurism

was needed to form collections, so enormous was the supply of works of art and so great the facilities for acquiring them or obtaining them by plunder. By the time of Augustus picture galleries were so common that in Vitruvius's plan of a great house a large hall towards the north for this purpose was considered indispensable; in later times, collections of sculptures also became general.

If these collections also contained works of living artists, they are never mentioned; and even if they did not consist for the most part of old pictures and statues, these were at least regarded as the most valuable, if not the only valuable part of the collection. It is often expressly stated that amateurs and collectors, such as Julius Caesar and Damasippus, who had a mania for collecting old statues, were specially anxious to procure them. Picture galleries, says Pliny, are stuffed with old pictures. In the case of silver ware special regard was had to antiquity, almost the only criterion of value of the works of an almost vanished art; carved work, which was worn almost beyond recognition, was prized above all. Some antiquarians even preferred the incunabula of art—the 'almost coarse' pictures of an Aglaophon and a Polygnotus to those of later artists, according to Quintilian, who with justice charges them with parading their superior knowledge of art. Augustus had a preference for the affectedly antique productions of Bupalus and Athenis of Chios (sixth century), and set up statues of both on the pediment of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in nearly all the other temples erected by him in Rome. This taste seems to have been most general during the reign of Hadrian. Generally speaking, however, 'ancient works of art' meant those of Greek art at its best or even of the period of the Diadochi. The authors of the 'works of the ancients', which Statius saw in the villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Tibur, are not mentioned by name; among the old pictures and paintings in the villa of Pollius Felix at Sorrentum were works by Apelles, Phidias (early period), Polycletus and Myron; in the collection of 'ancient works' belonging to Novius Vindex there were bronzes by Myron and Polycletus, marble sculptures by Praxiteles, ivory carvings by Phidias, and pictures in which the touch of 'the old Apelles' could be recognized. The names, thus casually mentioned, are nearly always those of artists of the first rank,

especially Polycletus. In Juvenal, when a rich man's house is burnt down, one of his friends who have clubbed together to furnish a new one, brings 'something exquisite' by Euphranor and Polycletus. In fact, the latter was considered by many the first among artists, the master in the representation of youthful beauty, who 'never ventured beyond beardless cheeks', whose works were distinguished for perfection of form more than depth of conception. Next to him, Myron is perhaps most frequently mentioned, whose figures of men and animals were especially impressive from their truthfulness to nature; more of their work was to be seen at Rome than of that of Phidias, whose masterpieces remained in Greece. Vitruvius calls them both representatives of the plastic art, as Apelles of painting. Artists of the times subsequent to Alexander the Great or the last days of the republic, amongst whom Pasitales and Arcesilaus were prominent, are practically never included among the 'old masters'. On the one hand, the accumulation by private persons of reputed ancient works of art, such as that of Domitius Tullus which filled a huge park, and the bandying about of the most famous names; on the other, the technical excellence of the art of that period and the great activity with which it reproduced antique and classical works, make it almost certain that collectors were often deceived by artists and dealers, and purchased copies instead of originals. Martial says of some one who boasted of his original paintings and real silver-goblets, that his friends were just as genuine as his collection. For the early empire we have express testimony that such forgeries were frequent and notorious. The fabulist Phaedrus says that, if he borrows the name of Aesop, it is only to enhance the value of his wares, 'after the manner of many artists of our time, who inscribe the name of Praxiteles on their new marbles, or that of Myron on polished silver, or that of Pausias on a picture. Thus spiteful envy always exalts counterfeit antiquity above contemporary excellence'. A Greek author under Hadrian states that Phidias had allowed his favourite Agoracritus to pass himself off as the author of the Rhamnusian Nemesis by means of an inscription on the statue, and adds: 'in like manner many others have inscribed some one else's name on their works'.

Mention in the literature of the period of works by great artists, of which nothing further is known, should be received

with caution. It is certainly possible that a vase with fishes carved in relief, a cicada, a bee, and a fly by Phidias were in existence, but we cannot believe it on the mere statement of Martial (which admits of another interpretation) or of the Emperor Julian. Work in precious metals (the toreutic art and *caelatura*) was 'one of the chief fields of artistic fraud', since the furnishing of sideboards with 'old' silver ware and of collections with 'original goblets' was the favourite artistic luxury. But the flourishing period of the toreutic art was brief, the number of famous artists small. The only authentic work with which Mentor, the greatest of them, the Benvenuto Cellini of antiquity, was credited by connoisseurs, was four pairs of cups. In shops and collections, on the other hand, they seem to have been by no means uncommon. Martial describes a shop dealing in costly *objets de luxe*, where, besides statues by Polycletus, 'cups ennobled by the hand of Mentor' were procurable; and he regularly uses this name when speaking of old original works in silver. Although connoisseurs could only be deceived by good copies (such as those of Zenodorus after Calamis), there were doubtless many amateurs and collectors of the stamp of Trimalchio in Petronius, who had a special fancy for silver work and owned cups on which was represented 'the slaying of her sons by Cassandra, the dead boys lying so naturally that you would think they were real; and the shutting up of Niobe in the Trojan horse by Daedalus' (Medea slaying her children and the cow of Pasiphaë being really intended). He concludes the catalogue of his plate with the remark that it was all very massive. The passion for bronze works, especially of Corinthian bronze (the mixing of which was a lost secret), was almost as great. Nevertheless, there were always artists ready to produce work of this material, who probably often deceived connoisseurs, although they pretended to be able to recognize the genuine article by the smell.

It is certainly no mere accident that stress is so often laid upon externalities (such as antiquity, rarity, expensive material) in accounts of the artistic collections of the period; no doubt a great part of the collectors attached supreme importance to those qualities which they could most easily appreciate. Historical interest may also have been taken into consideration in various ways. Objects which had belonged to famous persons were much sought after and commanded a

high price: the earthen lamp of Epictetus 3,000 drachmae, the staff of Peregrinus Proteus a talent. The value of the diamond, presented to the beautiful Jewish princess Berenice by her brother Agrippa II, was enhanced by her having worn it on her finger. When Caligula put up certain imperial jewels to auction, the fact that they had belonged to Germanicus or Agrippina, Antony or Augustus, was taken into consideration in fixing the price for those who were forced to purchase, whether they wanted to do so or not. At the banquets of the rich the guests had not merely to convince themselves of the weight of the silver by lifting it, but had also to listen to a detailed history of every article. Juvenal describes a shipwreck, in which some chased silver vessels were thrown overboard, which were said to have been used by Philip of Macedon. Caracalla had some weapons and drinking vessels, which had belonged to Alexander the Great, the object of his special reverence. Martial, who when it was necessary knew how to treat such relics as a plank from the ship Argo with respectful awe, could not endure being forced to listen at table to 'the smoke-begrimed genealogies' of the silver cups placed before the guests, which were supposed to have originally belonged to Nestor, Achilles or Dido. In the case of pictures and sculptures also, the spectators probably had to listen to their early history. The little Hercules by Lysippus in the collection of Novius Vindex was said to have been in the possession of Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Sulla.

Probably collectors, more than any others, laid claim to being connoisseurs, and Trimalchio declares that he would not sell his artistic judgment at any price. Yet, as at all times, pretension was commoner than real knowledge. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who knew more about art than most Romans, seems only to have credited experienced artists with the capacity for settling the authorship of anonymous works and distinguishing copies from originals; however, according to Statius, Novius Vindex possessed the first to a remarkable degree. Damasippus, as Horace makes him say, had devoted himself to testing the genuineness of Corinthian bronze, to judging defects in sculpture or roughness in casting, to putting prices on statues; the latter quality stamps him as a connoisseur, for then as now connoisseurs were fond of parading their expert knowledge by valuing works of art. Of course, they

were always talking about 'mixing of bronze', 'contours', 'shading', 'proportions' and the like, of which laymen confessed themselves ignorant; for it was generally recognized that special training was requisite in judging works of art.

Naturally, the amateurs and enthusiasts, who are frequently mentioned and set down as fools from the Stoic as well as the strictly Roman point of view, far outnumbered the connoisseurs. The opponents of Greek culture had already reproached Marcellus with having led his countrymen into the evil habit of wasting time in artistic gossip, the result of the plunder of Syracuse. Slaves (especially Greek), who had the opportunity of examining the abundant stores of art in Rome, often neglected their duties; at any rate, the jurist Venuleius, in enumerating the faults of slaves, which a seller is bound to point out, mentions as mental defects, together with the mania for shows and a propensity to lying, a mania for incessantly gazing at pictures.

Thus, neither the enormous art collections of the Romans nor the wholesale employment of art for decorations and monuments prove the spread of any real artistic feeling. The accumulation of ancient works of art was only a form of Roman love of splendour, which with all its magnificence had something barbaric about it; the lords of the world aimed at possessing and enjoying, as far as was possible, all the precious things of the world, and at surrounding themselves with everything that could impart magnificence and splendour to life. Hence they dragged off to Rome the most famous works in all branches of art, but their appropriation of these treasures was only material. It was just the multitude of the impressions that dulled their effect, as Pliny rightly recognized, the more so as quietness and silence, indispensable to artistic contemplation, were impossible amidst the restless stress and movement of Rome. Very few had time to become absorbed in works of art; the majority were content to acquire a hasty and superficial knowledge of them. Tacitus, by way of characterizing the prevalent indifference to poetry, says that any one who had once seen a famous poet was satisfied and went his way, as if he had just seen a statue or picture.

As a matter of fact, notwithstanding all the new and old artistic splendour of Rome and the Empire, the fine arts never exercised any influence over the general progress of

Roman civilization; Roman literature, regarded as a whole, provides an unexceptionable and irrefutable proof of this. Of the numerous poets and literary men of different periods, many of whom, the chief lights of their age, may fairly be regarded by us as its worthy representatives, there is hardly one who displays any interest in or knowledge of the fine arts. This varied literature, extending over centuries, and coming into contact in all directions with all important interests, during the first centuries of the Christian era is almost exclusively directed to the consideration of the present. Distributing alike praise and blame in its examination of the intellectual conditions of the age, it shows no trace of an appreciation of what really constitutes the essence of art, no expression of genuine emotion caused by its masterpieces. Wherever art is mentioned, it is spoken of unintelligently and contemptuously, or without sympathy or warmth. Although many individual Romans may have penetrated the nature of Greek art, on the whole it has always remained unknown and alien to Roman civilization.

If there still remained any doubt, whether the impression produced by Roman literature as a whole definitely proves the absence of artistic feeling amongst the Romans, such doubt is removed by a comparison of contemporary Greek literature. The sympathy and intelligence lacking in the one are unquestionably to be found in the other; it is obvious that in this department the contrast between Greek and Roman civilization is uncompromisingly maintained. The ever lively national feeling of the Greeks would of itself lead us to expect that their attitude towards these creations of their great past would be far more sympathetic than that of the Romans.

While Tacitus believes that he can best indicate a superficial and cursory knowledge by comparing it with the contemplation of works of art, Plutarch laments that the 'majority' regarded an absorbed contemplation of objects of art more important than reflection upon their own lives. 'The majority believe', as Arcesilaus said, 'that we must closely examine poems, pictures and statues and review all their details in the mind and with the eyes, while leaving unheeded our own life, which offers many by no means unattractive subjects for contemplation'. All the remarks of Dionysius of Halicarnassus show independent criticism of painting and

sculpture; on the other hand, the judgments of Roman writers upon eloquence in their comparisons of the art of oratory with the fine arts are evidently borrowed from books, and even the tasteful and refined Quintilian at times betrays a certain hesitation on this subject. To explain his remark that natural gifts can do much without culture, the latter nothing without the former, he makes the following comparison: had Praxiteles attempted to carve a statue out of a millstone, I should have preferred an unhewn block of Parian marble; but had the artist completed a work from the latter, its value would consist more in his work than in the marble. Consequently, he considered a good material more valuable than work done with bad material by a good artist. A later Greek historian Memnon (in the history of his native town Heraclea on the Euxine) describes in detail the attributes of a statue of Hercules carried away from there by Aurelius Cotta (club, lion's skin, bow and quiver), 'executed, in beauty of proportion, grace and technical skill, in a style inferior to none of the most valued works'. A Roman writer would hardly have spoken so enthusiastically of such a subject even in the most detailed description. In his account of the fire under Nero, Tacitus mentions the loss of numerous Greek masterpieces in two words, Suetonius not at all. And when Herodian compares the youthful Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) with the beautiful statues of the youthful Dionysus in beauty, youthful bloom and delicacy of form, it cannot be considered as accidental that no such comparison is to be found in any Roman historian. In Plutarch's treatise on the famous men of Athens its painters are spoken of at length; the section on sculptors is lost. Also in Greek geographical works, amongst the things for which individual places are noteworthy, their works of art and native artists, even such as were little known, are included. The dry, meagre, and external notices of works of art in Pausanias certainly do not show any love or knowledge of art, and even the affected enthusiasm in the descriptions of the Philostrati says nothing for the artistic feeling of the authors. Works of art such as scenes from nature, were just the subjects on which the stylists loved to display their learning. Art and nature aroused the interest of the sophists, both Greek and Roman, not for what they were in themselves, but only so far as they afforded an opportunity of exhibiting

their literary skill. The same remarks are applicable to the descriptions of nature and art in Apuleius as to those of his Greek models.

What a difference there is between this painfully elaborated enthusiasm and the language, full of warmth and feeling, which the irresistible effect of the statue of Olympian Zeus inspired in Dio of Prusa! The sight of this masterpiece, he declares, would astound even irrational creatures, and no man, however miserable and overwhelmed with sorrow he might be, could help forgetting in the presence of this image all the terrors and burdens of life; such light and grace has art bestowed upon it! The criticism of this ideal of Zeus, which he puts into the mouth of Phidias, 'the wise and marvellous author of this magnificent work', the friend and companion of Pericles, expresses a lofty idea of the importance and power of representation of the fine arts, combined with an admirable and in many respects striking appreciation of the difference between art and poetry. Lucian, finally, of all the writers of antiquity shows the most comprehensive knowledge and the most thorough understanding of art; his judgment is always independent, his taste follows the best models, his talent for characterizing works of art by a few features, or reproducing their effect in an enthusiastic description, is no ordinary one, as is shown in particular in his description of the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles. For the rest, Lucian's interest also was almost exclusively directed towards the most flourishing period of Greek art; the keener his eye became, the less worthy of his attention did the productions of later ages appear. In the same spirit Galen declares that the inferior education of his time and the fact that wealth was more highly prized than virtue, explained how it was that there were no masters such as Phidias among sculptors, Apelles among painters, or Hippocrates among physicians. Thus also Aristides calls those the greatest masters, who reached the highest by going beyond earlier art and made their predecessors seem children in comparison with them.

If, then, contemporary art is treated with no more consideration in the Greek literature of the imperial period than in Roman, the causes of this phenomenon are diametrically opposite in the two cases. Measured by the high standard set by the true artistic feeling of the Greeks, its value might easily

be underrated ; whereas the Romans, who in general had no idea of the real and independent value of art, regarded it only as one means amongst others of refining the enjoyments of life and of perpetuating the memory of persons and things. If we only possessed the two literatures, we should have no idea of what the fine arts even then were capable of producing, nor of the astonishing extent to which the need of artistic ornamentation and monumental representation had pervaded all classes of society, nor the enormous development of activity which it called forth in sculpture and painting. Yet how rich was this civilization, which was accustomed to dispose of the productions of art to an extent inconceivable to the modern world, which reckoned amongst the least of its possessions and carelessly scattered broadcast those treasures, whose immensity humiliates and fills us with astonishment !

II. MUSIC

Like every people whose organization is sufficiently advanced, the Romans had their own music and song from the earliest times ; but their modest instruments and doubtless simple melodies were reduced to silence, in the temples and on the stage, by the richer and more artistic sounds of Greek music. In the face of this art, introduced from without in a high stage of development, the native art was unable to hold its ground. In vain the old Roman party, hostile to everything that came from abroad, succeeded in 115 B.C., in passing a measure to prohibit the use of all musical instruments, except the Italian short flute with a few holes. Roman music, as an art in the highest sense, never existed, only Greek music transferred to Roman soil.

The art which the Romans took over from the Greeks was essentially different from modern music, and being less independent and completely subordinate to poetry, with which it was far more intimately connected than our own, it never possessed its importance. Musical recitative was an indispensable element of artistic form for most kinds of poetry, even those which according to modern ideas are entirely excluded from the domain of musical composition. Juvenal defines a poet as one who combines the eloquence of words with the harmonies of music.

It is well known that ancient tragedy and comedy resembled our opera and vaudeville far more than our ordinary plays. The Roman drama, in addition to spoken scenes, included musical interludes (*Cantica*) sung to the flute, melodramatic and recitative, as well as choral scenes properly so called ; it was usually preceded by an overture. All lyric poetry was intended to be set to music and accompanied by stringed instruments ; it was, in fact, regarded as ' songs written for the lyre ', especially choral, for whenever possible they were executed by choruses. This applies not only to the odes of the Greek lyric poets, such as Anacreon, Sappho and Alcaeus, which to all appearance were frequently chanted in imperial times, but also to those of Horace, which he himself calls ' words to be associated with the strings of the lyre ' ; and since there can be no doubt that they were intended to be sung with instrumental accompaniment, in spite of the absence of positive testimony we may assume that they were. Aristides was directed by Aesculapius in a dream to devote himself to songs and poetry, to learn music and to keep boys for the purpose ; also at the bidding of the god (and of Minerva) he composed paeans and hymns on different gods, which were sung by his boys. Now, if the hendecasyllables of the Younger Pliny were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre and cithara, we may believe the same of the hendecasyllables of Catullus. There is express testimony of the musical recital of elegiac poetry to the accompaniment of flutes in earlier times ; this was the case with the paraenetic elegies of Theognis, who states that young men would sing the name of Cyrnus to the notes of the short flute ; the elegies of Mimnermus, Phocylides and Tyrtaeus were similarly treated. Ovid expresses the hope that his *Heroides* may be sung in the future by a skilled vocalist. Gellius describes a banquet given in the country near Rome by a young and wealthy musical friend, a native of Asia Minor. He kept excellent choirs of girls and boys, who after dinner sang ' in a pleasing manner ' to the accompaniment of the cithara several poems of Anacreon and Sappho and graceful love elegies of more modern poets. ' The verses of the poet and composer Seikilus, chiselled on his tomb at Aidin with musical notes and rhythmical marks over them, are Anacreontic in style '. If elegiac distichs were also sung at that time, the recitation at the same banquet of distichs of the

old Roman poets, Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus and Quintus Catulus by the rhetor Julianus must also have been real song ; but as the old song, essentially a recitative, approximated more or less to declamation, the words *canere* (sing) and *dicere* (speak) could be used alternately and indifferently. The positive statement that Virgil's idylls were recited on the stage by singers is to be literally understood. Such recitations were often accompanied by rhythmic gestures, so that the execution was partly operatic, partly dumb show. Ovid in exile was cheered by the news that his poems were often ' danced ' on the stage amidst applause. Although we know nothing definite about this mode of representation, the analogy of pantomimes renders it probable that the text (e.g., of the *Heroides*) was sung by a sort of chorus, while a dancer expressed the action in dumb show. And when we read of the epics of Virgil and Homer being ' sung ', the word is probably to be taken literally, song in this case approximating more closely to recitation than in other classes of poetry.

In the middle ages also, the connexion between poetry and music was for a long time most intimate. The French *jongleurs* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries sang their romances to the accompaniment of the three-stringed Arabic violin. In Germany, as in France, ' a distinction between " singing " and '"speaking," between musical execution and recitation of poems was only gradually established. Song and instrumental music were usually combined, and the court poet had to invent not merely the words but also the melody, which he accompanied on the harp, the fiddle, or the *Rotte* (a stringed instrument partaking of the nature of both) '. As late as the end of the sixteenth century the epics of Ariosto and Tasso were everywhere sung to the lute. The song of the Servians is rather ' speaking ' than ' singing ' ; the monotonous sound of the *gusla*, which has only one string, is only heard at the end of the verse.

The extension of musical execution to nearly all forms of poetry in antiquity supposes a relation between words and music quite different from that of modern times. In modern lyrical compositions the text is in all cases subordinate to the music, whereas to a great extent in ancient vocal music the melody, like rhythm and metre, was only of secondary importance; its value consisted in the fidelity with which it was

adapted to the text. 'This is shown in particular by the newly discovered Delphic hymns '.[1]

The Greek musical system was far less comprehensive than ours, and lacked its highest and deepest notes. Two octaves was regarded as the maximum range for the voice, which, however, as a rule preferred the single octave in which it was most successful ('the Delphic hymns, hellenistic in their technique, range within an octave and a half').

Besides the solo, antiquity was only acquainted with choral singing, which, however, only differed from the former in that the expression of the melody was strengthened by an increased number of voices; it was in unison, part-singing being unknown (as is still the case amongst the Greeks and most Orientals) and a creation of the middle ages. In the ancient chorus there was only a difference in octaves, when men and boys or men and women sang together. The director of the chorus (*coryphaeus*) stood in the centre, and at the same time acted as precentor; it was of course his duty to keep the singers in time and unison. But while there was undoubtedly a lack of what we call harmony, the instrumental accompaniment must have been heterophonous even in classical times, and consequently could deviate from the melody of the song. But this accompaniment (which was in a higher key than the singing) must not be considered part-song. It was an apposition of single tones, which certainly gave the melody a kind of harmonic foundation, but claimed no kind of independent importance as a second voice in the contrapuntal sense.

The centre of gravity in instrumental music was not situated in the concert of several instruments, but in the solo, that is to say, in the effect of a single instrument, the skill of the individual artist—a sufficient proof that this kind of music was only poorly developed. In the same manner, the simplicity or rather scantiness of the means at the disposal of instrumentation, makes it perfectly intelligible why it was, and was bound to remain, entirely subordinate to singing. It was practically limited to two instruments, the cithara and the flute; all other instruments, such as the horn and the trumpet (for military music), cymbals, kettledrums and other noisy instruments (chiefly used at the festivals of Bacchus) being

[1] *See* O. Crusius, 'Die delphischen Hymnen,' in *Philologus*, liii. (1894, supplementary volume).

outside the pale of art proper. The hydraulic organ, a later invention *de luxe*, seems to have been given a place amongst the acknowledged instruments of art during the empire; it was accordingly allowed to compete (though certainly only in Rome) for prizes in musical competitions. Quintilian bears witness that its power of expression was considerable, since he allows its notes the power of alternately exciting and calming the audience.

Among flutes, the simple flute was the special instrument of artists and *virtuosi*, especially Alexandrian. It was, as is well known, not a cross flute, but a long one, and seems to have most nearly resembled the hautboy. Its tune was not soft and mild, adapted to express melancholy and tenderness, but rather wild and passionate; but, although it is so described, it must not be forgotten that a contrast is implied with the colourless sound of ancient stringed instruments. These latter, the lyre and the cithara (closely akin and frequently identified forms of the same class) were instruments resembling a harp, without a fret-board, with strings of gut or sinew (metal strings being unknown to the ancients), whose number was gradually increased to eighteen. A number of oriental harps also made their way into Greece, which all appear to have more or less resembled the psaltery of the Assyrians and Hebrews. None of them ever attained the importance of the lyre, which, in all sizes, played the part in Greek music of the violin family in modern times. It was played either with the hands or with a little wand (*plectrum*), the latter being apparently only used in accompanying singing, not in simple instrumental performances, since runs and quick passages could be better executed with the fingers. The use of the bow (an invention of the Arabs) was completely unknown in antiquity.

The lyre and cithara, whose power of tone and expression appears to us extremely limited, indisputably took first rank in Greek instrumental music, 'since at the same time they permitted singing'. For the same reason the cithara was in higher repute than the flute, since it was harder to play. The *virtuosi* devoted their chief attention to it; in spite of its limited artistic powers, it was difficult to acquire skill in the use of it, and perfect execution consequently created the greater admiration. Distinguished cithara players (*citharoedi*)

were famed for running over the strings with eloquent finger and making them resound as it were with human voice.

Cithara and flute were also played in concert, or independently, or as the accompaniment of song. But amongst the Romans the flute, played alone, rather accompanied dramatic, the cithara non-dramatic song, especially lyric choruses; 'it is the proper instrument in the accompaniment of the Delphic hymns'. It was generally recognized that the same kind of song was not suited for cithara and flute alike. Older Greek music also practised the combination of instruments of the same class on special occasions; thus, there was wedding music for two single flutes, a large and a small, which by playing together were intended to express the harmony of marriage and the precedence of the husband.

We need hardly point out the great difference between the concerto of flute and *cithara* and our orchestra, between ancient instrumental music and modern symphony. In the first place, we are at once struck by a peculiarity of ancient art, resulting from its strictly idealistic tendency, whereby it is especially distinguished from the modern—the uncommon moderation in the use of the means with which it endeavours to produce its effects. But ancient and modern instrumental music are also radically different in their aims. The former certainly endeavoured (and to a certain extent succeeded) to express and call forth certain moods and emotions; its means were also adequate to produce a considerable variety of expression, especially in later times. Aristides Quintilianus divides instruments into male and female. Among wind instruments, the trumpet (*tuba*) belongs to the former, the Phrygian flute to the latter; between both stands the (lower) Pythian (more male) and the (higher) chorus flute (more female). Of stringed instruments the lyre is male, the *sambuca* (with short strings and high treble tones) female; the *polyphthongon* approximates to the latter, the cithara to the former. Between these representative types of the chief kinds of instruments, there were yet others. In general the effect of stringed instruments was considered to be an elevation of the mind into a sphere of peaceful rest and untroubled calm, that of wind instruments emotional exaltation. Canus, a flute-player who was considered unrivalled in the second half of the first century, is reputed to have said that if his audience knew how

much more enjoyment his playing afforded him than them, they would not pay him but would make him pay them ; in Philostratus he boasts of his instrument (the Pythian flute) that it was capable of alleviating sorrow, of increasing joy, of fanning the flame of love, of elevating the devout.

If ancient music set itself the same tasks as the modern symphony, its extremely scanty means prevented it from ever approximately performing them in the same manner. Modern music transports the hearer from the highest to the lowest extremes of mental emotion, affects and touches by the expression of the ineffable, calls up spirits of gloom and bright forms, which struggle for the mastery of the human soul. J. M. Gesner declared that John Sebastian Bach, his colleague at the St. Thomas school, was able to produce effects with the organ, of which all the cithara-players in the world, assisted by six hundred flutes, would never be capable ; although ' a devoted admirer of antiquity ' he thought that his friend Bach or any one like him combined in himself many Orpheuses and twenty Arions. The contrast between a symphony of Beethoven, with the elementary, captivating and melting force of its waves of sound and the simple notes of cithara and flute, is as great as that between one of the great paintings of Raphael or Michael Angelo, with their profusion of forms, their great masses of light and shade, their power of conception and enchanting expression, and the simple and unpretentious, though frequently noble and gracious, figures on Greek vases.

Certainly, however, Greek instrumental music undertook to represent action even without an accompaniment of song, as in the so-called 'Pythian melody ', the subject of which was the combat of Apollo with the Python ; it consisted of five parts or phrases, arranged for the flute alone without song. In the first part the god chooses the scene of the combat ; in the second, he challenges the serpent ; the subject of the third was the combat itself, in which the flute imitated the blasts of the military trumpet and the monster gnashing its teeth when smitten by the arrows of Apollo. The fourth part described the victory, in the fifth the god executed a dance of triumph. The story that the famous *citharoedus* Timotheus, who performed at the wedding feast of Alexander at Ecbatana, had attempted to imitate a storm at sea in his *Sailor* shows that the attempt at imitative music was not confined to the flute ;

certainly the flute-player mocked him, declaring that he had heard more violent storms in his saucepans when they boiled.

If we may speak generally of a further development of Greek music amongst the Romans, it can by no means have been a development in the artistic sense. It consisted, as in the case of all the other arts which were transplanted from Greek to Roman soil, in a strengthening or rather wider but less refined application of the means and the introduction of a mixture of heterogeneous elements, in order to attain stronger but coarser effects, corresponding to the coarser taste of the Romans. As early as the time of Augustus the flute, with a lengthened pipe, an increased number of holes, and plated with brass, had become an instrument which could compete with the trumpet; it certainly differed from the old Italian flute as much as a modern grand piano from the little spinets of our great-grandfathers. This strengthening of the sonorousness of the flute soon brought about similar changes in the construction of other instruments, although Ammianus Marcellinus is the first writer who speaks of *citharae*, 'as large as carriages'.

Further, the combination *en masse* of instruments of the same kind and the gathering together of a large number of different instruments produced great effects. The former at least was known in the time of the Diadochi, especially at the court of Alexandria, where Ptolemy Philadelphus introduced into an enormous and magnificent procession a chorus of 600 men, amongst whom 300 *citharoedi*, carrying gilded *citharae* and crowns of gold, played in unison. The concert of instruments of different kinds also was probably not uncommon in Alexandria, since it had been peculiar to Egyptian music from the earliest times. On the monuments of the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs may be seen stringed, wind and pulsatile instruments, sometimes instruments of the same kind (two harps, eight flutes) being played together. The monuments of the new kingdom exhibit Egyptian music under a far more brilliant and magnificent aspect. 'The orchestras of this period are more numerous, the sounds of the harp are mingled with those of the lyre, flute, double fife, guitar and hand-tymbal', although only females appear as players and singers. The pomp-loving court of Alexandria was not likely to neglect to enhance the splendour of its marvellous festivals and

pageants by employing the native music, which was so admirably suited for the purpose.

Foreign music other than Greek also at an early date made its way into Rome. From the time of the campaigns in Asia Minor women, in whose hands Eastern music had always been, played the Chaldaeo-Babylonian *sambuca* at banquets and carousals; later, female musicians from Syria (*ambubaiae*, from Syrian *abbubo*, 'fife') were to be heard on public places with native instruments (fifes, stringed instruments, kettledrums) in increasing numbers. The Babylonian bagpipe is first mentioned at Rome in imperial times; Nero wanted to try it, although it is quite possible that it may have been long known. In any case, from the beginning of the empire, it is the influence of the neo-Egyptian or Alexandrian music which seems to have chiefly contributed to the reorganization of Roman music, especially instrumental. Even under the emperors Alexandria continued to be the seat of a manifold and prolific musical activity. Its population yielded to no other in the world in its love and knowledge of music; even those who could neither read nor write were able to detect at once a false note on the cithara; male and female singers or players on the cithara roused the masses to frenzy; music appeared to be a panacea for all evils. Alexandrian musicians and singers after the time of Augustus were held in high esteem at Rome, where they met with the greatest success. An Alexandrian *virtuoso* on the *trigonon* (perhaps the large 6 ft. high Egyptian harp), who performed publicly at Rome about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, aroused such general enthusiasm, that many soon knew by heart the melodies he had played. Thirty years after the conquest of Egypt, the ladies of Rome were as familiar with the Alexandrian melodies as with theatrical airs, and at the end of the first century Roman dandies were in the habit of humming these airs as well as those of the Gaditanian ballets.

In the last days of the republic, certainly, 'symphonies' and the choruses who executed them (*symphoniaci*) are often mentioned, especially at the luxurious banquets and orgies of the wealthy. But these choruses at that time may have consisted entirely of players on the cithara and flute. It was perhaps the invention of the pantomime (*pantomimus*) in 22 B.C. which led to the introduction of orchestral music properly so

called into the Roman theatre. The texts represented by the dancers were sung by choruses which, in the very large uncovered theatres, required a very powerful accompaniment, in entire harmony with the character of a spectacle, the chief object of which was to affect the senses. Pylades, the founder of this kind of music, and also perhaps of the new Roman theatrical orchestra, when asked in what his innovation consisted, is said to have replied in the words of Homer: 'In the sound of flutes and pipes, and the turmoil of men'. In the new orchestra the flute must have been the leading instrument, although panpipes, cymbals, *citharae* and lyres, as in the Egyptian orchestras, combined to produce the noisy effects of the *tutti*. In accompanying the pantomimes and other dancers, time was marked by an instrument called *scabellum*, which could be attached underneath the feet of the players; it consisted of two boards fastened together, which clattered noisily with each movement of the foot. An orchestra which was not completely swamped by this manner of beating time must have been a powerful one, and this music in general can hardly have been anything else but a noisy representation of the rhythm. For the rest, insensibility to the noise of beating time has persisted in modern Italy to a degree that appears astonishing to a northerner.

To all appearance, then, the alteration which Greek music of necessity underwent at Rome, to render it capable of answering the claims upon it, was in part at least in accordance with oriental ideas. Anyhow, the concerto of different instruments, purely instrumental or in singing accompaniments, continued to be as common in Roman music as it was rare or even unheard of in Greek, the combination of the *cithara* and flute excepted. In the time of Horace, songs accompanied by the lyre, the pipe, and the Berecyntian flute were heard in the temples of Venus; and according to Athenaeus, on the occasion of the Parilia, which since the time of Hadrian had been celebrated as a festival of the goddess Roma (April 21), songs were sung throughout the city to the sound of flutes, cymbals, and drums. Maximus of Tyre compares the poetry of Homer, in the variety of its manifold qualities and effects, to a panharmonic instrument, or rather to an orchestra, in which flute, lyre, trumpet, panpipe and several other instruments unite to form the accompaniment of a chorus song.

In imperial Rome also performances of vocal music took place with the aid of colossal appliances. Seneca says that the number of singers in the theatre exceeded that of the spectators in earlier times; that singers and musicians not only filled the stage but all the places not occupied by the spectators; that the accompaniment consisted of a number of metal wind instruments in the body of the house, and of flutes and organs of all kinds on the stage. If we remember that the Roman theatres held many thousands of spectators, we can easily believe that these performances far exceeded in dimensions even the English *monstre* concerts. The taste for massive musical effects seems at least not to have diminished in later times. At a celebration of the Roman games ordered by the emperor Carinus pieces were executed by a hundred trumpeters, others by hundreds of performers on different kinds of flutes; and Ammianus Marcellinus, who describes the Roman aristocracy of his time as extremely fond of music, but absolutely devoid of all other intellectual interests, says that hydraulic organs and flutes of every kind, as well as the *citharae* 'as large as carriages' already mentioned, were made for the palaces of the great.

The strengthening of the means employed led to, or at least explains, the gradual loss of moral dignity by Roman music, which was used to flatter the senses by gross effects and to tickle the ears of the vulgar. The old Roman theatrical music in the time of Naevius and Livius Andronicus is characterized by Cicero as 'of amiable severity.' In wealth and variety of musical effect it was related to the music of the imperial period as a pre-Mozartian opera to one by Meyerbeer or Wagner. The old constraint and poverty were replaced by greater freedom of rhythm and method, change and variety of modulations, wealth and movement of melodies. Yet this emancipation from the old-fashioned simplicity of the art soon led to its decay, to which the domination of pantomime, with its effeminate and undignified music, wanton and full of noise and trills, mainly contributed. In the first centuries of the Empire, more earnest friends of art repeated, no doubt with even greater reason, the regrets already heard during the time of Alexander the Great. It was said that the ancients alone had known how to preserve the dignity of art; that modern composers would have nothing to do with their serious tenden-

cies, and had substituted an enervated and chattering music for one that was virile and divine. 'There', says Plutarch, 'reigns the art of dancing, to which music is almost entirely subordinated'; and Quintilian expresses the opinion that the indecent and effeminate music of the stage had largely contributed to the annihilation of the still surviving remnants of virility. A Greek writer (pseudo-Plutarch *De Esu Carnium*, ii. 2) declares that a distempered ear should be regarded as a disease which had corrupted music, 'the soft and effeminate notes of which provoke immodest touches and lascivious tickling'.[1]

In short, the lamentations of that period over the decay of music greatly resembled those uttered in modern times by the champions of a more serious tendency in music. More than seventy years ago, Thibaut, in his treatise *On Purity in Musical Art* (English translation by W. H. Gladstone, 1877) declared that 'in music there may be concealed all manner of impure, morbid and immoral elements; and thus the rubbish that, if presented by the pen or pencil, could not, for credit's sake, fail to be rejected, comes to be swallowed wholesale by the unwary'. 'Many of our innocent girls, if they knew what they are often obliged to hear, or even to play or sing themselves, would die of shame and disgust'. The author inveighs against the 'enervating, uncouth, preposterous, or meretricious', in music; against the 'spasmodic, distorted, exaggerated, rampant and deafening noise, which stirs up everything ignoble in man'; he asks whether music, half compounded of unnatural and unhealthy elements, is not more injurious than beneficial to us; adding that of all the arts it is least able to escape the reproach of having contributed to the vitiated taste of the age. According to him, it is necessary, by returning to naturalness and simplicity to restore to the unstrung nerves of music the elasticity that they need, and to revive what is at the point of death—'the pure love for music as music, and the ennobled taste, which asks to be purified and elevated by music, not to be led into and irrevocably engulfed in the mire of the vulgar and unnatural'. It is besides easy to understand that the ancient seat of this effeminate music, whose prevalence at that time was so deplored, was Alexan-

[1] W. Baxter's translation in Plutarch's *Morals* trans. by various hands (London, 1870).

dria, and that the relation between the music of that city and ancient Greek music was analogous to that between modern Italian (and to some extent French) music and the German music of the eighteenth century.

But if the Romans degraded the art of music by allowing it to become an instrument for the satisfaction of sensual enjoyment, we must at least allow them the credit of having known exactly how to make the most of it for this purpose. Music, like all the other arts, was employed by them, to a far greater extent than is usual or possible at the present day, to enhance the pleasures of life and beautify existence. Only the existence of an institution such as slavery; only the fact that the arts, which we are accustomed to regard as a costly product of rarely united factors, as the flower of our intellectual life, were then learnt and practised on a large scale by slaves at the bidding of their masters and under the superintendence of overseers, could render possible the employment of art on such a gigantic scale in the service of luxury. In the armies of slaves, some of them at least natives of highly civilized countries, who belonged to the great men of Rome, there must have been many intelligent and gifted men; and, under the conditions of ancient art, there were far more opportunities for learning and instruction than in modern times. Thus it was easy to form 'chapels' of singers and musicians of every kind from the hundreds or thousands of slaves of a great house (as from the Russian serfs), which could be completed by the purchase of fresh artists, who besides were continually passing from one owner to another by sale, gift or inheritance (thus, in Russia, Potemkin bought from Count Rasumovski a band of fifty performers for 40,000 roubles). Chrysogonus, Sulla's wealthy freedman, had so many musicians among his slaves, that the neighbourhood of his house resounded day and night with the noise of their songs and flutes. When their masters took short excursions, they were accompanied by bands of singers and musicians; the villas and watering-places visited by the *élite* of society re-echoed from morning till evening with the sound of music and song. Maecenas was lulled to sleep by the gentle strains of symphonies from a distance; Caligula, reclining on the deck of a magnificent galley, bythe murmuring waves of the gulf of Naples and the noise of song and music.

At table, especially, where all the senses had to be gratified

at once, there was no lack of music ; a practice which persisted to the last days of antiquity, frequently to the torture of the guests. ' You ask ', says Martial, ' what is the best kind of banquet. That at which there is no flute-player '. At luxurious feasts large choruses accompanied the fair Andalusians in their castagnette dances ; at the gay repasts of a society of learned men Greek male and female singers sang songs of Sappho and Anacreon to the music of the cithara ; the Younger Pliny leaves the single guest, whom he has invited to a simple meal, the choice between a reading, a scene from a comedy, and a performance on the lute ; and Martial, who had a lodging on the third floor, promises a friend at least a performance on the short flute, to season an extremely frugal meal. The extent to which musical entertainments monopolized the banquets of uneducated upstarts is shown by the description, which can hardly be a caricature, of Trimalchio's banquet in Petronius, which certainly belongs to a period in which a real or affected fondness for music was extremely prevalent. In this the food is brought on and handed round, the tables brushed and wiped, in fact, all the details of service carried out to a continual accompaniment of music and singing : ' You would have thought you were in a theatre, not a private house '.

From time immemorial music had been an item in all spectacles and religious ceremonies. In imperial times there appear to have been special singers of hymns (*hymnologi*) attached to the temples of Greek and Oriental divinities (e.g. the Great Mother and Attis); in the cult of Isis music played a specially important part. Nevertheless, a distinction between sacred and profane music was unknown in antiquity (' even though there was a special sacral style for certain solemn climaxes in divine service ') ; indeed it could not be otherwise, since spectacles formed part of the religious service, which throughout was of a cheerful and festive character. Perhaps Mendelssohn in the chorus of St. Paul (*Seid uns gnädig, hohe Götter*) succeeded in reproducing the impression of old religious music as nearly as is possible under modern artistic conditions. The Catholic service also, until the reform of Church music was undertaken by Palestrina by direction of the Council of Trent, was accompanied by singing like vaudeville melodies ; hence also the lauds before the images of

the Madonna were occasionally sung in the style of carnival songs or *strambatti*, short popular songs most nearly resembling our street ballads. Even in modern Italy there is hardly any essential difference between secular and religious music at the daily service even in Rome, none at all in Naples.

Owing to the unrestricted publicity of the ancient spectacles theatrical melodies must have spread far more widely and rapidly than is possible at the present day ; people were heard singing the airs heard on the stage in the streets and public places. As early as Cicero's time there were many connoisseurs, who at the first note of a flute ritornello, could say whether the piece was from the Andromache or Antiope, which astounded Cicero himself ; and even in those days the general public keenly criticized the singers and allowed no mistake to pass without an expression of disapproval. But the spread of an interest in music at that date is most clearly shown by the performances of the nature of concerts unsupported by dramatic action ; on the other hand, in 167 B.C., the Roman public was so entirely uncultivated, that the chief Greek flute-players and their choruses could only arouse interest by giving a kind of rough and tumble performance.

A century later it was no uncommon thing for musical *virtuosi* (*citharoedi*), who accompanied their songs on the *cithara*, to obtain a favourable reception at Rome. They came forward in the magnificent Pythian festal attire ; a long, gold-embroidered robe, a purple cloak with ornaments of divers colours, a golden crown on the head flashing with precious stones, the artistically fashioned *cithara*, covered with gold and ivory, in their hand.

In imperial times, in addition to the *citharoedi*, other artists gave performances without singing on different instruments, especially the *cithara* and its varieties, the flute and the organ ; there were also dramatic singers (*tragoedi*), whose airs and lyric scenes, often performed by them in mask and costume, closely resembled dramatic representation, and lyric singers properly so called, who specially chanted hymns in honour of the gods. Similarly, at the Isthmian games Nero is said to have sung a hymn to Poseidon and Amphitrite and a short song on Melicertes and Leucothea. It is not known whether the female singers and *virtuose*, who delighted the public of Alexandria, also performed in public at Rome. A

mural painting at Herculaneum represents a concert scene; in the centre is seated a flute-player, in a long embroidered robe, playing on the double flute and beating time with the *scabellum*; on the right stands a female player on the *cithara*, grasping the strings with her left hand and holding the *plectrum* in her right; on the left is seated a female singer, a copy of the words in her hand, waiting for the cue to join in. Certainly, the painting seems to represent a public concert, but it affords no certain indications as to time or place. Choruses, with or without soloists, frequently sang to different instruments. It is quite possible, although there is no positive proof of it, that pieces of the nature of symphonies were performed without singing at public concerts, as a kind of introduction to instrumental solos.

Nero, who desired to shine not merely as a poet, but also as a singer and *citharoedus*, first introduced Greek *agones* (artistic competitions) into Rome, where they were afterwards regularly held. At the periodical 'sacred' festival, instituted by him in the year 60, musical competitions formed the chief attraction. Although they did not give such offence as athletic contests, they were disapproved in conservative circles. 'Justice', says Tacitus (*Annals*, xiv. 20), 'had nothing to gain from them; the knights would not fulfil their duties as jurymen any more efficiently, after hearing, as experts, effeminate songs and languishing airs'.

The Capitoline competition, instituted by Domitian in 86, was held in far greater and more lasting repute than the Neronian. For the musical performances Domitian ordered a covered theatre to be built in the Campus Martius by the famous architect Apollodorus; it was called the Odeum, was capable of holding 10,000 or 11,000 spectators, and as late as the fourth century was considered one of the most beautiful buildings in Rome. At this festival, which was celebrated every fourth summer, poets, singers and musicians competed for the wreath of oak-leaves, which the emperor himself presented to the victors after the judges had pronounced their decision. This distinction, the comparatively rare occurrence and solemnity of the festival and the brilliancy of the audience, lent an unparalleled importance to these contests of singers and *virtuosi* in the musical world of the period. In fact, the winner of the prize was considered the first in his art not

merely in Rome, but in the world. Artists came from the most distant countries, from Asia and Egypt, to take part in the competition, and several monuments are still extant, with inscriptions stating that this or that 'celebrated' musician had gained the crown at the Capitoline *agon*. Special mention is made of competitions in singing, playing on the *cithara*, the solo on the Pythian flute and dramatic recitations; competitions in simple *cithara*-playing without singing and on the choral *cithara*, introduced by Domitian, were soon discontinued.

The executants naturally preferred the compositions of the best known masters. Thus Menecles, the ambassador of the Teians to the cities of Crete, frequently played on the *cithara* compositions by Timotheus and his near contemporary Polyidus, 'admirably and in the style of one who understood the technique'. For the rest, such executants were not only far more commonly (if not as a general rule) composers than at the present time, seeing that the handling of the far simpler and consequently more permanent musical forms could have offered little difficulty to skilled musicians, but they were also frequently poets, the result of the closer connexion between poetry and music at that time. The most famous *virtuosi*, such as the singer Tigellius of the court of Augustus, the *citharoedi* Menecrates and Mesomedes of the courts of Nero and Hadrian, were famous for the performance of pieces composed or set to music by themselves. Some fragments of the poems of Mesomedes are preserved, and the music to the hymns to Nemesis and Helios.

In other respects, the style affected by the musical *virtuosi* of the imperial period was much the same as that of the present day. The greatest value was of course attached to training by an experienced singing-master (φωνασκός); hence in inscriptions on singers the name of their instructor is sometimes expressly mentioned. A certain Marcus Aurelius Musaeus was 'the first and only singing master' to whom statues had been erected at Elis and Delphi for his success as a teacher. Among the long and wearisome preparatory exercises by which perfection was attained, the solfeggio from the lowest to the highest notes was especially prominent. In addition, vocalists were obliged to lead a strictly regulated life, which was considered necessary for the strengthening and development of the voice. They spared their throat as much as possible, rested

it for a time after every effort, and held a handkerchief before their mouths, when they had to speak loudly. They were extremely temperate, in their eating and drinking, used purgatives and embrocations, lay on their back with sheets of lead on their breast, walked at certain times, avoided the sun and wind, fog and dry air, and so forth. In fact, for singing in large and partly open spaces far stronger and more lasting vocal powers were required than at the present day. And yet *citharoedi* and *tragoedi*, when they appeared in public, sometimes strained themselves so violently that they broke a blood-vessel.

From the time when their artistic development was complete, the *virtuosi* were nearly always travelling; they could not possibly obtain a permanent engagement in one place, since there were no regular theatres and performances only took place on the occasion of particular festivals. The more famous Greek *virtuosi* regularly toured through Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, and were frequently honoured with statues, civic rights and other distinctions, in the towns where they had been enthusiastically received. The fees and income of artists of repute, including prizes at festal performances, were very high. Vespasian, in other respects so parsimonious, ordered several musicians of experience to appear at the games given by him at the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus, which he had restored; a *tragoedus* received 400,000 sesterces, the *citharoedi* Terpnus and Diodorus 200,000, some 100,000, none less than 40,000, not counting the distribution of a large number of gold crowns. Music teaching in great houses at Rome was also very lucrative, and the fees of famous singers and *citharoedi* were the envy and disgust of literary and scientific men. Martial, tired of his wearisome and fruitless duties as a client, removed for a time from the capital to Forum Cornelii (Imola) whence he wrote to his friends that he would never return to Rome except as a qualified *citharoedus*. Again, in a spirit of bitterness, he advises a father not to give his son a learned education, nor to allow him to touch the works of Cicero or Virgil; he even advises him to disinherit him, if he writes verses; if his son wants to learn a profession by which he can earn a living, let him become a *citharoedus* or *choraules*.

Of course, these *virtuosi* had crowds of enthusiastic admirers

of both sexes. The passion of women for singers and musical *virtuosi* furnished ample material for scandal, satire and lampoon. Wealthy ladies of distinction cherished the little wands with which famous *cithara*-players had smitten the strings, pressed kisses on these precious mementoes, offered sacrifice for the success of their favourites in an approaching competition, and sometimes, it was asserted, even paid a high price for their favours. In the highest circles and even at several courts *virtuosi* were honoured and highly paid guests. Mark Antony the triumvir bestowed the collectorship of the taxes of four cities and a military escort upon the famous *citharoedus* Anaxenor, who had been honoured by his birthplace Magnesia on the Maeander with a priesthood and public memorials. Tigellius of Sardinia, the singer and flute-player, who was on the most intimate terms with Caesar, was equally welcome at the courts of Cleopatra and Augustus. The dramatic singer (*tragoedus*) Apelles of Ascalon, a powerful favourite of Caligula, fell into disgrace because he hesitated to answer the Emperor's question, 'which of the two seemed to him greater, Jupiter or Caligula?' The emperor ordered him to be flogged, and congratulated him on his voice, which he declared sounded very pleasant even when he was howling with pain. Nero presented the *citharoedus* Menecrates with a palace and a large estate. Mesomedes of Crete, the poet and composer already mentioned, freedman and favourite of Hadrian, on whose favourite Antinous he composed a panegyric, received a salary which Hadrian's successors thought it right to reduce.

This lively and flattering sympathy and favour, shown in various ways, was bound to foster caprice, vanity and arrogance. The fabulist Phaedrus relates with great satisfaction, how one of these puffed up *virtuosi* had recently made himself universally ridiculous by his absurd vanity. The flute-player Princeps ('prince'), who usually accompanied the famous pantomime-dancer Bathyllus (freedman of Maecenas and inventor of the comic pantomime), broke his leg while the scene was being changed (owing to his own carelessness or the fall of some scenery). He was confined to bed for several months and the artistic public greatly missed his performance. When he was able to walk again, a distinguished personage, who was arranging a spectacle (apparently an allegorical piece at a popular festival) asked him to appear in it. The curtain

fell,[1] the thunder rolled, the gods spoke in the usual manner; after which the chorus struck up a song, the words of which were unknown to Princeps, beginning with 'Rejoice aloud, O Rome; thy Prince is safe and sound'! The public rose and applauded; Princeps, thinking the applause was meant for him, threw kisses to the spectators; the knights (whose seats were in the front of the house) observed his folly and conceit and laughing loudly demanded an encore. The song was repeated, Princeps bowed to the ground on the stage, the knights again applauded in mockery. The general public at first believed that he was asking for the crown. But when his real meaning became known, the impudent fellow, who had dared to claim the homage paid to the divine (imperial) house, was thrown out amidst general indignation, 'with his beautiful white leg-bandages, white tunics, and white shoes'.

According to Horace, capriciousness was a never-failing peculiarity of all *virtuosi*. The fault of singers, he says, was that, when amongst their friends, they could never be induced to sing; but, when not asked, there was no stopping them. Tigellius of Sardinia, who had deeply offended Cicero in 45 by his pretentious irritability is represented by him as a type of instability and capriciousness. Even the imperious Augustus often asked him in vain to sing and seems to have put up with the rudeness of an artist who had already been spoilt by Caesar. If, however, Tigellius thought fit to oblige, he would sing 'Io Bacche!' from the first course to the dessert in every key. He was a mass of inconsistency. At one moment he would run as if a pursuer were at his heels, at another he would walk slowly as if in a procession. Sometimes he had two hundred slaves, sometimes ten. Now he would talk big, now he asked for nothing more than a three-legged table, a salt-cellar, and a coarse *toga* to keep out the cold. If he received a present of a million, in a week his purse would be empty. He scattered his easily-gotten wealth broadcast, and his lavish generosity attracted a retinue of quacks, beggars, jesters, and female dancers and singers. He sat up all night and slept all day.

The mutual envy and jealousy of the artists were especially aroused by the musical competitions. Rivals watched and strove to conciliate one another, while secretly abusing, and

[1] It was *lowered* at the beginning of the performance, and *raised* at the end, contrary to the custom of the modern stage.

sometimes even publicly insulting each other. Dangerous competitors were got out of the way by bribery or otherwise rendered harmless. In the presence of the judges and the public a great show of respect was made. Nero, who scrupulously observed the regulations for the public appearance of the *citharoedi*, never sat down when tired, never spat, never wiped the perspiration from his forehead except with his hand or dress, always prefaced his performance by an appeal to the people: 'Gentlemen, give me a favourable hearing!' At the end, the performer again sought a favourable verdict, doing obeisance on bended knee and saluting the public with his hand, and awaited with real or pretended nervousness the decision of his hearers.

Even the most famous *virtuosi* rarely appeared without having paid for applause in advance. Leaving the competition out of consideration, this was perhaps excusable in the case of artists who had to appear before thousands of hearers of the lowest class, who were by no means chary of their expressions of disapproval; *citharoedi* were frequently hissed off in the theatre of Pompey, which explained their nervousness on entering. Evidently, there was a considerable number of people at Rome, who had nothing else to do but 'applaud a Canus or a Glaphyrus', and the *claque* was considered a lucrative profession.

This lively and general susceptibility of the Romans to music necessarily led to dilettantism in execution. Certainly, Roman prejudice, which considered not merely professional ability in music and singing, but even their practice for amusement, as utterly improper for the freeborn (especially men of rank), had long resisted the fashion. But as a result of the increasing influence of Greek manners and customs, the old-fashioned severity had long since made way for an increasingly liberal tolerance even in this respect. As early as the time of the Gracchi, there were singing and dancing schools at Rome, which were attended by boys and girls of good, even noble, family, no doubt to the great disgust of men like the Younger Scipio. But practice and skill in singing at least were soon looked on more indulgently. In the *De Oratore* of Cicero (91 B.C.) one of the chief personages of Rome at the time (the orator Lucius Licinius Crassus, consul 95, censor 92) mentions without any sign of disapproval that his friend, the knight

Numerius Furius, a family man, occasionally practised as an amateur the art of singing which he had learnt as a boy. Certainly, when a man of Sulla's position not merely admitted actors to his society but did not disdain to be thought a good singer himself, this was bound to give great offence. Cornelius Nepos, in speaking of the differences between Greek and Roman manners and ideas, states emphatically that the Romans considered music unseemly for a man of prominent position. The foppish and dissipated youths, who belonged to Catiline's party, are described by Cicero as skilled in affairs of the heart, singing, dancing and playing on stringed instruments. Dilettantism in music was, no doubt, at that time disapproved by many in any circumstances, but the theoretical study of the art must have been by no means uncommon, since Varro included it amongst the sciences which formed the basis of a general education. From the beginning of the empire the theory of music was no doubt not only generally reckoned one of the higher subjects, but it was quite a common thing for boys to be taught to sing and play on stringed instruments as a finish to their education. The section on music (treating of rhythm and metre) in the encyclopaedic work of Augustine on the seven liberal arts, based on that of Varro, is still extant. Columella mentions musical as well as rhetorical and mathematical schools. Titus, who was brought up at the court of Claudius with his son Britannicus, and 'instructed in the same sciences by the same teachers', made rapid progress in all branches of learning. He was not only well acquainted with the rhetoric and poetry of the two languages (Greek and Latin), but 'he was also a good musician, and played skilfully and agreeably on the *cithara*'. Britannicus (born February 13, 41), whose superior voice excited Nero's jealousy, had also received a musical education. At the Saturnalia in December, 54, Nero, chosen 'King' by lot amongst his companions, ordered the young prince, who was not yet fourteen years of age, to come forward and sing a song, hoping that he would make himself ridiculous. But Britannicus sang a poem with the utmost self-possession, containing obvious allusions to his having been unlawfully deprived of the throne. The general emotion aroused by the song aggravated Nero's hatred, and was the direct and final cause of the horrible assassination of this promising lad in the following year. Suetonius expressly states

that Nero when a boy had received instruction in music as well as other branches of learning, and Seneca (in the year 54) praises him as the equal of Apollo in voice and execution. One of the instructors of Marcus Aurelius was Andron, who taught him music and mathematics. The biographer of Commodus declares that he had profited nothing by the teaching of the best scientific masters, but that from his earliest years he had shown talent in things ill-suited to the imperial dignity, such as the art of modelling cups, dancing and singing.

Of course more importance was at all times attached to the musical education of girls than of boys. Famous musicians like Demetrius and Tigellius in Horace's time spent a great part of the day by their pupils' easy chairs. These girls not only learnt to sing, but to play on the *cithara* and other stringed instruments; frequently they became sufficiently proficient to set poems to their own music. Choruses of boys and girls, and even of women, of good family often sang at religious festivals. Catullus wrote a hymn of praise to Diana for one of these double choruses. At the secular games the festal song was sung by twenty-seven boys and girls, whose parents were still alive, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in the Capitol, or during the procession to and from the two sanctuaries. At the funeral obsequies of Augustus children of distinguished family of both sexes sang the lament for the dead; according to Herodian, at the rites preceding the apotheosis of the emperors, a chorus of boys and women of noble birth, standing by the bier in the Forum, sang the praises of the deceased to mournful and solemn melodies.

At the dedication of the temple of Augustus by Caligula in the year 37 boys and girls belonging to the noblest families, whose parents were still alive, sang a panegyric. On certain occasions men of rank were not only permitted, but even ordered, to sing in public. Even so earnest and austere a man as Thrasea Paetus sang a scene from tragedy in costume in his native city of Patavium at a solemn spectacle, a long-standing institution, which was only held at intervals of thirty years.

In olden times the more serious Romans only partially approved of the musical dilettantism of girls and women; this is Sallust's point of view, who says of Sempronia, the

confidante of Catiline, that she sang with greater skill than beseemed an honourable woman. Later, to all appearance, the voice of censure became silent, and proficiency in music was generally recognized as one of the essentials of female education. An accomplishment which made Statius's stepdaughter a good match was her skill in playing the lyre and singing his poems to her own music ; the Younger Pliny's third wife was equally accomplished. Lucian praises in exaggerated terms the singing and playing of the beautiful Panthea of Smyrna, the favourite of Lucius Verus. He compares her to the Muses and Sirens ; at the sound of her voice the nightingale is mute ; her singing is worthy of her beautiful lips. She accompanies the *cithara* to perfection ; her careful observance of the melody (ἁρμονία), and strict adherence to the words, are severely correct ; her voice rises and falls in measured cadence ; the *cithara* is in perfect agreement with the voice, the *plectrum* keeps time with the throat ; even Orpheus and Amphion could not attain the rapid movements of her fingers or her euphonious modulation.

But even the musical dilettantism of men appears to have aroused only trifling opposition in the time of Augustus. As a matter of fact, the only writer who expresses his disapproval in imperial times is the Elder Seneca, a consistent admirer of the old Roman simplicity and austerity of manners. He laments that noble studies are neglected, that men's minds are taken up with pursuits which are even worse than idleness, that the indecent occupations of singing and dancing claim all the attention of an effeminate youth. The censure of the Younger Seneca, writing under Claudius, is only directed against an exaggerated dilettantism. According to him, passionate lovers of music spent the whole day in hearing, singing and composing airs ; tortured their voice by artificial modulations to produce an unnatural expression ; were continually beating time with their fingers to some piece which they had in their head ; even on serious, nay, melancholy occasions, they could not help humming a tune. Similarly, Manilius describes a lover of music, who at a drinking bout enhances the enjoyment of the wine by sweet song, sings on the sly even at work and business, and when he is alone does nothing else.

The extent to which musical dilettantism had spread in Rome since the beginning of the empire is amply confirmed. By means of a beautiful voice a man might hope to please the

ladies ; an accomplished singer might look for an entry into the best circles. Generally speaking, it would seem that musical talent was especially appreciated as a passport to society. Trimalchio in Petronius asks one of his guests, who had the reputation of being a good singer, to give the company something good ; the guest regrets his inability to oblige ; he declares that in his youth he had sung so much that he nearly became consumptive. Trimalchio himself 'murders' some airs of Menecrates, a famous *citharoedus* and composer of Nero's time. The universal dilettante in Martial, who does everything 'nicely', but nothing well, sings 'nicely' and plays the lyre 'nicely'.

This dilettantism seems to have been very common even in the highest circles. Gaius Calpurnius Piso, the leader of the conspiracy against Nero in 65, according to the *Laus Pisonis*,[1] played the lyre so admirably that he might have been a pupil of Apollo ; and indeed, in time of peace why should he have been ashamed of it ? Achilles himself swept the strings with the same hand which hurled the terrible lance against the foe. The number of emperors who are said to have been amateur vocalists or instrumentalists is remarkable. Hadrian was proud of his singing and proficiency in playing the *cithara*. Fronto, when advising Marcus Aurelius to enjoy his holiday at Alsium, appeals to the example of his predecessors, amongst them Hadrian, who found time from the cares of state to occupy his mind with other things, being fond of a good meal, of composing, and of the society of flute players. Caracalla also played the *cithara* and erected a memorial to the famous performer Mesomedes, who had gained a great reputation at the courts of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Elagabalus (Heliogabalus) sang to the accompaniment of the flute (i.e., dramatic scenes), blew the trumpet, played the *pandura* (a stringed instrument) and the organ. Alexander Severus, who was also fond of music, played the lyre, the flute and the organ, 'as well as the trumpet, although he gave up this instrument after he became emperor'. It thus appears that the *cithara*, although undoubtedly the favourite instrument of the dilettante, was by no means the only one. Nero made a vow that, if he succeeded in putting down the revolt against him, he would perform on the hydraulic organ, the

[1] A panegyric on Piso now generally attributed to Titus Calpurnius Siculus.

bagpipe and the choral flute, at the games with which he intended to celebrate his victory ; at a time when the gravest danger threatened, his counsellors, after a hurried consultation, had to spend the rest of the day in inspecting some newly invented hydraulic organs and listening to his explanations of their respective difficulties. Lucius Norbanus Flaccus was a zealous trumpet-player and practised assiduously, even on the morning of the day on which he entered upon his consulate (January 1, 19 A.D.) ; the crowd assembled before his palace to compliment him took it as a bad omen that a consul should be heard playing on an instrument inseparably associated with war. Of course, the example of the emperors contributed to the spread of this dilettantism, especially in the highest circles.

The manner in which all these instances are recorded makes it clear that what shocked Nero's contemporaries was neither his passion for music nor his performances as an amateur, but the fact that he was not a simple 'amateur', but posed as a 'professional', performed before the public, and submitted his performances to its judgment. The conviction that he was a born artist dominated his mind throughout his life ; and with the oft-repeated words upon his lips, 'What an artist is lost in me!' he died. It is easy to imagine how he was strengthened in his conviction by the exaggerated expressions of enthusiastic admirers. Even his tutor Seneca, in a poem on his accession, calls him the equal of Apollo 'in the art of singing and vocal powers'. Another poet compares him as a *citharoedus* not merely with Apollo celebrating his victory over the Python, but with the divinity who stretched the heptachord of the zones of the world : 'if there are gods, then surely they speak with a voice like his'. On the outbreak of the revolt against him, nothing is said to have excited Nero so much as a proclamation of Vindex in which he was called a poor *citharoedus*. The falsehood of this reproach, which denied him knowledge of an art in which he was a thorough proficient, was regarded by him as the best proof of the falsehood of the other charges brought against him ; he kept asking his courtiers whether they knew a better player. To the astrologers who early foretold his deposition he gave the answer (well known in Rome) : 'My beloved art will help me to endure it'. Immediately after his accession, he summoned Terpnus, the most famous *citharoedus*

of his time, made him sing and play to him every day after dinner and far into the night, and endeavoured to train his dull and feeble voice by incessant practice and study and the strictest attention to diet. He made his first appearance in the year 59 (the fifth of his reign and the twenty-second of his age) in his garden and palace on the right bank of the Tiber ; in 64 in the ' Greek city ' of Naples ; but it was not till 65 that he appeared publicly as a *citharoedus* in the theatre of Pompey at the competition instituted by himself. Towards the end of 66 he set out on his professional tour through Greece, from which he probably returned at the end of 67. Next to playing on the *cithara*, he liked best to appear in semi-dramatic performances of solo-scenes from tragedies in costume and mask. Probably, like most other *citharoedi*, he was also a composer. A regular army of well-trained and organized *claqueurs* always greeted his entrance with applause. As often happened at this period, the cruel and the ridiculous were combined. Spies were everywhere on the watch, and woe betide the man who did not applaud loudly enough, or slipped out of the house before the end of the imperial turn, or went to sleep ; when there was an epidemic of sore throats in the city, it went ill with any one who forgot to offer vows and sacrifice on behalf of the ' heavenly ' (i.e., imperial) voice.

Our information as to the state of culture, for the first decades of the third century to about the end of the fourth is extremely meagre. In the last days of antiquity we at least know that the love of music was widespread in both pagan and Christian society. The astronomer, Firmicus Maternus, speaks of ' public musicians held in honour by the people ', ' choral musicians ', composers and inventors of stage melodies. Ammianus Marcellinus says that the palaces of Rome, once famous for devotion to serious studies, were now filled with the amusements of languid indolence, and resounded with song and stringed instruments. ' In place of the philosopher the singer, in place of the teacher of eloquence the teacher of music is summoned ; musical instruments of all kinds are everywhere to be seen, while the libraries are shut like tombs'. At Constantinople John Chrysostom thus addresses his congregation from the pulpit : ' Which of you could recite a psalm or anything else from the Scriptures, if invited to do so ? But if any one were to ask for devilish airs, for amorous and

indecent songs, he would find many among you thoroughly at home in such things and delighted to oblige him'. Further, the general decay of ancient civilization during those times warrants the supposition that this condemnation of music was not merely justified from the Christian point of view; that the only aim of the art was to provide frivolous sensual enjoyment; and that theatrical music especially, while pantomime absolutely dominated the stage, thought of nothing higher than pleasing the ear.

As music became less and less serious and dignified in character, the more dangerous must have appeared its use in Christian worship, of which church singing was from the beginning an essential element; at least there were good reasons to fear its secularizing influence. Jerome warns those whose duty it is to sing in church not to praise God with the voice but with the heart; not to soften the throat and voice with sweet medicaments after the manner of tragic actors, in order that theatrical airs and melodies might be heard in church. For the same reason, many took offence at the singing of women in church. In the case of the majority, says Isidore of Pelusium, it offers an opportunity for sin; instead of being rendered contrite by the diviner psalms, they only find an incitement to passion in the sweetness of the melody of which they think no more than of songs in the theatre. One who desires to act acceptably to God, must forbid women to sing in church or even to stay in the town, since they abuse the divine gift. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (died 386) absolutely forbade women to sing, since the apostle Paul imposed silence upon them in the congregation. The ascetics regarded fondness for music as an unlawful and fleshly desire. Augustine, who was very susceptible to music and often shed tears when he heard the hymns of Ambrose, considered it dangerous for this very reason to abandon himself to such emotions. Fearing that the only reason why the hymns found favour with him was their sound that pleased the ear, he sometimes wished that singing in church could be abolished altogether, and the psalms recited in the manner introduced by Athanasius in Alexandria.

The most ardent supporter of church singing in the West was Ambrose, as Basil had been in the East. Certainly, said he, Christians ought not 'to find delight in deadly songs with theatrical colorature (*chromata*), which incline the heart to

sensual love': but he had all the more esteem for plain-song which he regarded as truly edifying. 'What is more beautiful than a psalm? It is the praise of God and a harmonious confession of faith. The apostle certainly orders that women should be silent in church, but they sing the psalms very well. Every age and sex is suited for psalm-singing. While singing, the old no longer feel the hardships of old age; the younger men sing without incurring the reproach of effeminacy, youths of impressionable age without temptation to sensuality, girls of tender years without injury to their female modesty; women and young maidens, without loss of decency, in dignified earnestness make the praises of God resound melodiously with their sweet, rich-toned voices. How difficult it is to obtain silence in church, when the service is simply read; but the moment the psalm is heard, there is silence at once'.

However, all recollection of the heathen origin and character of music gradually disappeared, in proportion as the old forms received fresh substance; and since they were found to be perfectly adapted to receive this substance, the forms of music created by the old Greek artistic feeling have been preserved in some respects less altered than those of any other art. The system of the six or seven Greek 'modes' handed on in an unbroken tradition remained even in Christian times the foundation of musical composition, 'just as the recitative style of the late-antique sacral music, dependent on the tone in the old Christian *melos*, lived on and still lives (as already shown by Helmholtz) in the liturgical recitations of the Catholic church, although the narrow and fixed rhythmical forms have been broken up'. The masters of the eighteenth century ensured the success of a system based on two 'modes', and in connexion therewith won the first place for a system of harmony (in the modern sense) at once rich and simple.

'Thus', says Westphal, 'we have a most peculiar phenomenon in the history of the arts. On the one hand, the very art, which struck out a path most divergent from the ancient spirit, has come down to us in its historical development directly from antiquity in one continued tradition; on the other hand, the old rules of the plastic art, poetry and architecture, which still possess for us the value of authority, have had to be discovered at a relatively late period'.

END OF VOL. II.

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